

A. Bronson Alcott

THE ALCOTT PRATT

L I F E
O F
S O C R A T E S,

COLLECTED FROM THE

Memorabilia of XENOPHON

AND THE

Dialogues of P L A T O,

And Illustrated farther by

ARISTOTLE, DIODORUS SICULUS, CICERO,
PROCLUS, APULEIUS, MAXIMUS TYRIUS,
BOETHIUS, DIOGENES LAERTIUS, AULUS
GELLIUS, and others.

IN WHICH

The Doctrine of that Philosopher and the ACADEMIC Sect are vindicated from the Misrepresentations of ARISTOPHANES, ARISTOXENUS, LUCIAN, PLUTARCH, ATHENÆUS, SUIDAS and LACTANTIUS; the Origin, Progress and Design of Pagan Theology, Mythology, and Mysteries, explain'd; Natural Religion defended from Atheism on one hand, and Superstition on the other, and the destructive Tendency of both to Society demonstrated; Moral and Natural Beauty analogously compar'd; and the present Happiness of Mankind shewn to consist in, and the future to be acquir'd by, Virtue only derived from the true Knowledge of God. Herein the different Sentiments of LA MOTHE LE VAYER, CUDWORTH, STANLEY, DACIER, CHARPENTIER, VOLTAIRE, ROLLIN, WARBURTON, and others on these Subjects, are occasionally consider'd.

Πρόσφεταὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ καλοκαγαθίαν. Xen. Mem. lib. 4.

By JOHN GILBERT COOPER, Jun. Esq;

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

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T H E
D E S I G N.

*T*HE Author of the following Sheets having with no small Concern observed in several modern Controversies, the injurious Treatment which the ancient Philosophers have received, both from the unfair Misrepresentations of designing Men, and the more sober though not less hurtful Mistakes of the Ignorant; wherein human Reason has been depreciated scandalously, human Nature vilified, and the all-perfect Attributes of the great CREATOR of the Universe thereby called in question; he thought a more acceptable Service could not be done to true Religion, on which intirely depends the Welfare of our Species, than to vindicate the Impartiality of the DEITY (from the Aspersions of those who

have blasphemously confined his Benevolence) by a Demonstration of his universal Goodness exerted in Revolutions made tho' not immediately, yet mediately from himself to the Pagan World, of his Power, Will, and Nature, as far as Mankind then could or ought to comprehend.—This he proposes fully to illustrate in this Review of the Life and Doctrines of that Athenian Sage, who constantly and invariably taught and believed the Immortality of the Soul, and a future Retribution of Rewards and Punishments: and even in an Age of the grossest Idolatry, without the Assistance of supernatural Agents, collected by human Reason alone from the Nature of Things, the following important Truths concerning GOD, to establish which he fell a glorious and undaunted Martyr, viz. That he was ONE, eternal, uncreated, immutable, immaterial, incomprehensible Being; that he was omnipotent, omniscient, infinitely good and wise; that he created and continued to govern by his unerring Wisdom all Things in universal Harmony; that he re-
garded

garded Mankind with a particular Affection, and indued them with Reason, that Ray of divine Light, to guide their Steps in this probationary State to temporal, and afterwards eternal Happiness, thro' the Paths of Virtue; that HE was exempt from all human Passions; and tho' the Wicked were afflicted both here and hereafter, that their Punishments did not proceed from his Anger, but from those invariable Laws ordained at the Creation of the World, through which they incapacitated themselves by their Crimes to be united in the beatific Visions of Heaven, to the ever blessed Society of great and good Men.

These were, as shall be proved in the Course of this Performance, the Tenets of the first Academics, as taught by Socrates to Plato and his other Disciples; a Sect, as far as our Nature is capable of being so, infallible in their Speculations, and uncorrupted in their Practice; who lived virtuous, and consequently happy upon Earth, and will enjoy, as Christian Charity teaches

us to hope, the everlasting Blessings above; which reward the Labours of those who have been obedient to the Will of Heaven.

The most authentic Accounts of Socrates are collected from the Memoirs of Xenophon and the Dialogues of Plato, who were his Contemporaries and Disciples; the Authority of these two only are insisted upon; the collateral Lights of After-times being made use of chiefly to shew, what Opinion the different Ages in which the Authors liv'd entertained of his Life and Doctrines.

The Stile which the Author uses, is such in every Place as the Subject seems to require, concise tho' circumstantial in the historical Parts, diffus'd and declamatory in the Recapitulation, and close and unaffected in the occasional Reflections.

To avoid any Interruptions in the Text, all controverted Points are discussed, and abstruse Passages or seeming Contradictions explained below in the Notes, the Language of which, the Reader will observe, is frequently

quently very different from the rest of the Work, and is varied occasionally to conform to the different Merits of several Writers which are therein properly considered. Some Expressions perhaps at first sight may appear too harsh, and others too lufory ; but all Weapons are not to be used alike against all Adversaries : for as the ancient warlike * Scythians found in the servile War, that Whips more intimidated the Army of rebellious Slaves, than the Sword which had so often corrected the Pride of Nations ; so Contumely and Ridicule will avail against those who are lost to good Manners, Candor, and good Sense, when the nobler Methods of Humanity, Reason, and Learning, would prove ineffectual. The Sentiments of others, who write like Men, are examined with the same Spirit, and where the Author is obliged to oppose their Opinions, he does it with a proper Respect due to their Characters,

* Vide Herodot. lib. 4. & Justin. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Characters, always distinguishing between the designing Deceits of the Heart, and the involuntary Errors of a misled Understanding.

As this is a Biographical Account, many Parts of History are abridg'd or protract-ed, as they more or less related to the Subject; for it would be equally absurd to pass over such Facts, in the Life of a Worthby, wherein he is chiefly concerned, with a general View, as it would be to dwell upon others wherein he was not at all interested, with the more circumstantial Accuracy of an Historian.

So much the Author thought necessary to premise in this Introduction, tho' otherwise utterly averse to that modern Artifice of a prefatory Discourse, wherein the Writers endeavor, by a feign'd and unmanly Submission, to suborn as it were their Readers into an irrational Prepossession in favor of their Works, but too frequently lose the End in the Means, by betraying their own Cause to the Public, and speaking those very Truths which they are altogether unwilling should be believ'd.

believ'd. He therefore makes no idle Apologies on account of his Youth, for want of Leisure, Industry, or the like, which if true ought to be sufficient Reasons for not publishing at all. The following Sheets were written with no small Application for his own Instruction and Amusement, and after having been carefully revis'd, are now communicated with the honest Design of making others partake in the same Satisfaction this Inquiry has already afforded him. If this desirable End can't be obtain'd, he thinks it is paying a greater Respect to Mankind to confess, that the Failure proceeds from Deficiency of Abilities, and not from the want of laudable Endeavors. Reasons pretty much of the same Nature induced him to omit those customary Compliments to great Men, too frequently at the Expence of Truth, in the servile Strain of dedicatory Language: for a Performance that deserves Protection never wants any; and one that wants it, seldom if ever deserves it. Whatever Failings the more Learned may observe, the Author has Reason to expect, since all
he

he advances is intended for the Promotion of good Manners, Morality and true Religion, that they would with the Good-nature becoming such, candidly impute 'em to Error, insisting strongly on the Merit of his Design, however little he may have in the Execution of it.



THE



L. R. Boitard, Jr. et Sculpt.

THE
L I F E
O F
S O C R A T E S.
B O O K I.

SOCRATES was born^{*} at ATHENS,
in a Bourg of the City call'd *Alopece*,
belonging to the *Antiocbian* Tribe, on
the sixth Day of the Month^{*} *Thargelion*,
in the fourth Year of the seventy-seventh
Olympiad,

^{*} Vide Plut. Symp. lib. 8. & Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr.

² Amyot falsely translates it the sixth of *February*; but
Mons. Charpentier observes rightly, that the sixth Day of the
Month *Thargelion* that Year answered to our sixteenth of
May, to whose chronological Table and Dissertation for a
more particular Account of this Calculation, I refer the
Reader.

Olympiad, four hundred and sixty-eight Years before the Coming of CHRIST. His ³ Father was a Statuary, named *Sophroniscus*, his Mother a Midwife call'd *Phænareta*. In his Father's Art, which was then one of the most honorable in *Greece*, *Socrates* was first educated, and became so great a Proficient in his Youth, that, as several ⁴ Authors affirm, the celebrated *Graces*, carv'd on the Walls of the Citadel at *Athens* behind the Statue of *Minerva*, were his Performances. An early Indication of the Propensity of his Mind to Beauty! From this, compar'd with his Life and Doctrines, we may perceive what invariable ⁵ Analogy there is between a Taste for moral and for natural Comeliness; for the same Faculties of the Soul which lead

³ Su'id. in vit. Socr. & Diog. Laert.

⁴ Ibid. & Pausan. lib. 9. It is very observable that these *Graces* here mention'd were, contrary to the general Custom, cloth'd *ἐνδεδυγίας χαιρας*, whereas other Artists represented the *Graces* naked, as we learn both from *Greek* and *Latin* Poets. So *Horace*, lib. 1. od. 30.

Solutis

Gratia zonis—

And again, lib. 4. od. 7.

*Gratia cum Nymphis geminis Sororibus audet
Ducere nuda Choros*—

These *Graces* therefore carv'd by *Socrates*, may in contradistinction justly be called *Gratiæ decentes*. lib. 1. od. 4.

⁵ See the third Book of *Xenophon's Memorabilia*, where this Doctrine is illustrated by mutual Comparisons; and the *Characteristicks*; and *Hutcheson's Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Good and Beauty*, passim.

BOOK I. S O C R A T E S. 15

lead Mankind to admire Proportion and Order in external Forms of Matter, have a correspondent Relish for a like Regularity in Characters and Manners; thus being often habituated to contemplate on the Charms of Nature and Art, exhibited to our outward Senses, we transfer, as it were, that Idea of Excellence into our Breasts, and make the Workings of the Mind observe the same Rules which were appointed by the first CAUSE to constitute Beauty and Harmony in every Part of his Creation.

There is nothing worthy of Notice mentioned by any Author concerning the Infancy of our Philosopher, except by *Plutarch* ⁶, who says that *Sophroniscus* was commanded by an Oracle not to contradict his Son, even whilst a Child, in any thing whatsoever, but to let him follow the Bent of his own Disposition, for that he had an inward Guide (alluding to his Genius or Dæmon, of which I shall speak at large ⁷ in a proper Place) which would conduct him through Life better than a thousand Preceptors; but as neither *Xenophon* nor *Plato* make any mention of so remarkable a Fact, this Story is to be regarded no more than as a vulgar Tradition forg'd afterwards,

⁶ De D. Socr.

⁷ Vide infra Book III. and Notes 11, 15, 16, & 17. *ibid.*

wards, and credulously swallow'd by *Plutarch*, who always delighted in Prophecies, Miracles, and Prognostications. Since this Part of his Life is pass'd over in such Silence, we may reasonably imagine that he continued in the Employment of a Statuary, till * *Crito*, a noble *Athenian*, observing the prodigious Extent of his natural Abilities, and judging that such extraordinary Talents might be more usefully employ'd for the Good of Mankind, took him from the Study of that Art, the chief Excellence of which is to inspire as it were insensible Matter with fictitious animal Life; and enabled him to apply his Attention to the divine Contemplation of moral Symmetry, which forms the Soul itself into the nearest Likeness our Nature is capable of attaining of the *first* PERFECT and *first* FAIR. His first Masters in Philosophy are said to be † *Anaxagoras*, and ‡ *Archelaus* call'd the *Naturalist*; but 'tis apparent that neither of them merit that Appellation; for it would be absurd to imagine that he would have spoke of the former with that Contempt which he frequently did †, if he had been his Master, nor can we

* Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr. This *Crito* became afterwards his favorite Disciple. Vide Plat. Crit. & Phæd. Dial.

† Vide Suid. & Diog. Laert.

‡ Plat. Apol.

Book I. SOCRATES. 17

we with more Reason think, that he was the Disciple of the latter, who totally neglected the Study of Moral Philosophy. If he must have a Master, *Prodicus*, I am inclinable to think, has by his own Confession¹¹ the greatest Pretensions to that Honor; and what still strengthens the Probability is, that he alone of all the Philosophers of that Age, was joined with *Socrates* to his immortal Glory, and attempted to be ridicul'd, on account of the same theological Opinions, in the Comedy of *Aristophanes* called¹² *the Clouds*.

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When

¹¹ Men. Plat. and in the Dialogue entitled *Protagoras*, *Socrates*, recounting to his Friend the Particulars of a Dispute of that *Sophist*, speaks of *Prodicus* in these Terms, πανσοφος ὃς μοι δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ εἶναι καὶ θεός. And again in express Terms acknowledges himself μαθητὴς εἶναι Πρωδικῷ. In another Place calling upon *Prodicus* to assist him in the Explanation of a Passage in the Poet *Simonides*, he pays him this Compliment, δοκῶ ἔν μοι ἐγὼ παρακαλεῖν σε, ὡς περ εἴη Ὀμηρος, Σαμανδρὸν πολιορκημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλεύος, τὸν Σιμωνίδα παρακαλεῖν, εἰπόντα.

Φίλε κασιγνήτε, θεὸς ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρω περ
ἐκώμεν.

¹² The *Clouds*, the pretended Deities of these Philosophers, thus accost *Strepsiades* an old Farmer and *Socrates*:

Χαῖρ' ὦ Πρεσβύτα παλαιγενέες, δεῖνὰ λόγων φιλο-
μύσον.

Σὺ τε λεπτοτάτων ληρῶν ἱερῶν, φραζέσθης ἡμᾶς ὅτι
χρηζέεις.

Οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλω γ' ὑπακούσωμεν τῶν νῦν μελεώμενων σοφιστῶν,
Πλὴν ἢ ΠΡΟΔΙΚΩ. Τῷ μὲν, σοφίας, τῷ γυναικῆς
ἐνεκα.

Aristoph. Nub. Act. i. Sc. 4.

For a more particular Account of this Comedy, of the Design of it, Success, &c. vide infra, Book II. and Notes 13, 15 and 16 *ibid*.

When *Crito* had supply'd him with all the Necessaries of Life, he apply'd himself, 'tis true, at first with the greatest Affiduity¹³ to Natural Philosophy, which Study at that Time employed all the Youth of *Athens*; during which he perhaps might have occasionally attended the Lectures of *Archelaus*, more for the sake of detecting false¹⁴ Knowledge than for acquiring true; for this Reason he can by no means be properly called either¹⁵ his Disciple, or that of *Anaxagoras*, whose Absurdities afterwards he so often expos'd, and whose Doctrines differ'd so essentially from his own. In these physical Speculations he made a most uncommon Progress; nevertheless having met with Numbers of inexplicable Difficulties which attend that Study, and being convinced by Experience of how little Utility such Researches, even when successful, were of to the Promotion of real Happiness, he prosecuted this Science

no

¹³ He gives this Account of himself in *Plato's Phædo*,
 ἐγὼ γὰρ Νεὸς ὡν Δαμᾶσος ὡς ἐπεθυμῆσα τῶν τῆς
 Σοφίας ἢ δὲ καλῶσιν περὶ φύσεως ἰσοειῶν.

¹⁴ See the Reason for his attending the Sophists in the Dialogues of *Plato*, *passim*.

¹⁵ I am surpriz'd how that judicious Author *Monf. Rollin* could fall into this common Mistake; for he makes no Difference betwixt *hearing* the Lectures of *Archelaus*, and being his profess'd Disciple. "Il fut Disciple, says he, d'Archelaus, qui le prit fort en affection, celui ci avoit été d'Anaxagore Philosophe celebre." *Roll. anc. Hist.* v. 4.

BOOK I. SOCRATES. 19

no farther, but making the Welfare of Mankind the sole Object of his Concern, " he
 " was the first ¹⁶, as *Tully* says, who called
 " PHILOSOPHY down from the Heavens,
 " plac'd her in Cities, introduc'd her into
 " private Families, and compell'd her to
 " enquire concerning human Life, Morals,
 " and the Good and Evil of every Action."

Yet this was a Task too arduous to be performed all at once; for this Reason he began by Degrees, as Occasion offered, to divert her Speculations, by the most interesting Persuasions, from the Course of the Planets, the Nature of the heavenly Bodies, the Revolutions of Seasons, and other physical Causes, (which the all-wise AUTHOR of the Universe managing himself, has conceal'd from our Comprehensions, and if known,

B 2

would

¹⁶ Sed ab antiqua Philosophia usque ad *Socratem*, qui *Archelaum Anaxagoræ* discipulum audierat, numeri, motusque tractabantur et unde omnia orientur, quove recederent: studioseque ab his siderum magnitudines, intervalla, cursus enquirebantur, et cuncta cœlestia. *Socrates* autem primus PHILOSOPHIAM devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus rebusque bonis et malis quærere. *Tusc. Quæst. lib. 4.* And again: *Socrates* mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum Philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocasse PHILOSOPHIAM, et ad vitam communem adduxisse, et de virtutibus et vitiis omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreret, cœlestia autem vel procul esse a nostra cognitione censeret, vel si maxime cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre. *Academ. Quæst. lib. 1.*

would be by no means conducive to the Performance of our Duty) and at length totally familiariz'd her Meditations to the Regulation of that little World, which the DEITY has put into our Power, and all its mental Inhabitants of *Fears, Hopes, and Desires.*

Thus *Socrates* was the first who did *altogether* apply himself to the Study of Moral Philosophy; for altho' the *Pythagoric* School particularly, and several other Sects, had more or less *occasionally* taught it, yet *Physicks* were still uppermost in their Minds, and the primary Object of their Considerations.

The *Sophists* at this Time were in great Repute all over *Greece*; they were not only introduc'd into private Families, and Seminaries of Learning for the Education of Youth, but had particular Places set apart in every City, where they instructed even the Adult in Arts, Sciences, Morals and Religion. These Men having public Stipends from the State, were entirely under the Direction of the Magistrates; and they in their Turn being governed by the Priests, thro' that political and sacerdotal¹⁷ Union which

¹⁷ There was a Pamphlet published in *England* a few Years ago, proposing to the Legislature a Law which, had it been put in Execution, would have been destructive of all civil and religious Liberty, subversive of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and introductory to more hierarchial Power than ever,

which has been so often destructive to Liberty and Truth in all Ages, took particular Care that nothing should be taught in these Assemblies, or in private, but what conducted to the Promotion of their own Power, and that of their holy Masters, by the sacred Delusion of establish'd Superstition.

The *Sophists* being thus prescrib'd to and so highly interested in support of the Priesthood, taught their Disciples not to search after Truth, but implicitly believe that to be so which they learnt from them. They receiv'd Philosophy too as well as Religion from the Hands of their Predecessors full of ^{as} Phantoms and Fables, which they occasionally adorned and augmented to serve the Cause of partial Utility, to the irreparable Damage of public Good. *Socrates* therefore from the Beginning laboured under these Disadvantages and Difficulties, which to others would have been insurmountable. He had the Prejudices of Education first to overcome in himself, the Custom-protected Ignorance of others to enlighten, Sophistry to confute, Malice, Envy, Calumny, and continual Insults of his Adversaries to endure, Poverty to undergo, Power to contend with,

B 3 and

ever, as yet, has been exercised even in the Inquisitions of Spain, Italy, and Portugal.

^{as} Plutar. de Genio Socr.

and what was the greatest Labor of all, the vulgar Terrors and Darknefs of Superftition to diffipate; all which, we fhall find in the Sequel, he overcame with the true Wifdom of a Philofopher, and the difinterested Virtue of a Patriot, the Patience of a Saint, and the Refolution of a Hero, at the Expence of all worldly Pleasure, Wealth, Power, Fame, and laftly Life itfelf, which he chearfully laid down for the fake of his Country; fealing with his Blood a Teftimony of the Love he bore to his own Species, and his unchangeable Duty to the CREATOR and GOVERNOR of all Things.

As the *Graces*, before fpoken of, and feveral other Pieces of exquisite Workmanfhip were his Performance, 'tis reasonable to imagine that *Socrates* did not leave his Employment of a Statuary to apply himfelf totally to Philofophy till he was near ¹⁹ thirty Years of Age, at which Time we may fuppose it was that *Crito* furnifh'd him with the Means of thoroughly profecuting his favorite Studies. From hence having no other Avocation, he continued fome Years, after laying afide thofe ufelefs Enquires into Physics as above mentioned, in the moft uninter-

¹⁹ *Monf. Charpentier* very juftly fays, Dans le Siecle qui etoit le Siecle de *Phidias* Je ne penfe pas qu'on eût pris un ignorant ou un apprentif, pour un ouvrage public. Dans la vie de *Socr.*

interrupted Application ²⁰ to the Study of Moral Philosophy. In this Retreat of Peace and Science he remained long unknown and unsignaliz'd, till at length an Opportunity offer'd to shew the most conspicuous Examples of Valor, Friendship, and all the Virtues of a good Citizen, which he exerted for the Service of his Country in Fields of Battle. About the fourth Year of the eighty-sixth *Olympiad*; *Socrates* being then thirty-six Years of Age, *Potidæa*, a City of *Thrace*, tributary to *Athens*, publicly revolted ²¹. The *Athenians* immediately upon the News got together all their Forces and Auxiliaries, and marched to reduce that rebellious City. The General of the *Potidæans* hearing of their Approach came out and met them, when after a bloody Engagement he was forc'd to retire with

B 4

great

²⁰ It was at this Time he learn'd Rhetoric of the famous *Aspasia*, as necessarily conducive to the Cultivation of that divine Science. [Vide Plat. Menex.] This woman had a Genius not only superior to all her own Sex, but greatly surpassing all her Contemporaries of the other too in Rhetoric and Politics. *Pericles* himself took no Measure relating to Government without her Advice. [Plut. in vit. Pericl.] And to her *Plato* attributes that excellent Composition, the Funeral Oration which *Thucydides* puts into the Mouth of *Pericles*. Tho' Moral Philosophy was ever after his principal Study, yet other Arts and Sciences secondarily employed his Attention at leisure Hours, for *Connus* was his Master in Music, *Euenus* in Poetry, *Isimachus* in Agriculture, and *Theodorus* in Geometry. Max. Tyr. Diff. xxii.

²¹ Thucyd. lib. 1.

great Loss back again to his Fortifications, The victorious Army laid Siege to the City, and tho' they made a Blockade on every Side, the Besieged held out with great Valor above two Years, at the End of which they were forced to surrender for want of Provisions.

During this Siege, and in the preceding Engagement, *Socrates* signiliz'd himself upon every Occasion; and having gain'd the Prize of Valor by the general Suffrage of his Competitors, he resigned the Glory of it over ²² to *Alcibiades*, (whose Life he had just before saved in a Skirmish) as an Encouragement to that young Nobleman to become hereafter deserving of more signal Honors from his Country.

From hence his Intimacy with *Alcibiades* began, in whose Tent he was entertained thro' the whole Expedition ²³; and this proud, ambitious, licentious Youth ever after, even in the midst of Sycophants and Flatterers, had a filial Awe for his divine Preceptor ²⁴: Nor could the luxurious Ease of this wealthy Libertine, nor the plenteous Emoluments which abounded in his Train, ever seduce *Socrates* to relax the military Severities

²² Plutarc. in vit. Alcib.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Plat. Alcib. prim.

BOOK I. SOCRATES. 25

verities he had inur'd himself to from the Beginning of the War; for even in the Depth of Winter, when others had occasionally clothed themselves against the Rigor of the Weather, he kept his ordinary Dress, and walked barefoot upon the Ice, as if the Inclemency of the Elements had no Power over a Philosopher and Soldier ²⁵. By Temperance and a constant Perseverance in the virtuous Toil of martial Exercises, he acquired a Constitution superior to the Attacks of Disease; for when an almost universal Plague had seized upon the Camp, insomuch that eleven hundred Men were carried off by the Contagion in the Army before *Potidæa*, and *Athens* itself was half depopulated, he escaped in both Places the Malady, and was the only one in the first that had not in some Measure felt the Severity of it ²⁶.

As soon as *Potidæa* was brought again under Obedience to the Republic, *Socrates* returned to *Athens* to prosecute his beloved Meditations; nor indeed amidst the continual

²⁵ Plat. Conviv. That he always went barefoot we have the following Testimony from *Plato*, where *Phædrus* speaking to *Socrates* says, εἰς καὶ γὰρ, ὡς εἰκεν, ἀνυποδήτος ὡς εὐτυχόν. Σὺ δὲ γὰρ μὲν αἶ. Plat. Phæd.

²⁶ Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr. and *Ælian* says, ἐν ὅσῳ Ἀθηναῖοι πάνδημοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεθνήσκον οἱ δὲ ἐπιθανάτως εἶκον, Σωκράτης δὲ ΜΟΝΟΣ οὐκ ἐνόσησε τῷ ἀρχῶν. Var. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 27.

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nual Noise, Avocations, and Dangers of a Camp, was his ardent Thirst after Knowledge ever abated; for whenever his military Duty did not interfere, he would sit whole Days in his Tent, employing his Mind in the most profound Contemplations ²⁷.

Upon his Return Home we may suppose he first began his divine Discourses (not with the Ostentation and Pride of the Sophists, nor with the mercenary Views of such, who, as I have just now observed, held forth at particular Times in Schools appointed for that Purpose, and were paid by the Magistrates and their Disciples, but) in the public Streets ²⁸, Walks, Baths,
private

²⁷ In the Expedition at *Potidæa* he remained a whole Day and Night in the same Posture, without ever moving, as it is related by *Plato* and *Diogenes Laertius*. *Aulus Gellius* speaks of it as a Thing he was accustomed to do frequently. *Inter labores voluntarios (says he) et exercitia corporis ad fortuitas patientiæ vices firmandi id quoque accepimus Socratem facere insuevisse. Stare solitus Socrates dicitur, pertinaci statu, perdius atque pernox a summo lucis ortu ad solem alterum orientem, inconnivens, immobilis iisdem in vestigiis et ore atque oculis eundem in locum directis cogitabundis tamquam quodam secessu mentis atque animi facto a corpore. Noct. Att. lib. 2. cap. 1. By the Bye, mentis atque animi, should be read mentis atque animæ, for mentis atque animi is Tautology, but mentis atque animæ makes it Sense, and heightens the Description; animus et mens both signifying the rational and immortal Soul in Latin, as Νῦς does in Greek; as anima et sensus et Ψυχή, in Contradistinction, the irrational, animal, and perishable Soul, No doubt the Author wrote it so,*

²⁸ *Xen. Mem. lib. 1.*

private Families, in short, taking every Opportunity to instruct Mankind in all the Heart-enobling Duties of Humanity, and the ever Comfort-bringing Obligations of true Religion. But in both of these he found the World led astray by the delusive Pageantry of Sophistry and Superstition, supported by the false Conclusions of a deceitful Oratory. This rendered his Undertaking greatly difficult, nay, almost above the Power of human Nature to perform; for it is observable, that Learning employ'd in the Cause of wrong Opinions, makes stronger Bigots than the blind Ignorance of unletter'd Enthusiasm could ever pretend to.

As false Religion is always a Bane to Morality, *Socrates* found it necessary to begin with converting the *Athenians* from their impious Superstitions; for as an Imitation of what we think most excellent is the End of our Endeavors, and the DIVINE NATURE being allowed to be so, the Worship of those monstrous *Deities*, that were then ador'd in *Greece*, extending its influence beyond Speculation to Practice, evidently subverted all true Notions of Justice and Virtue. “*Jupiter* (said one of these misled “Religionists)

²⁹ See *Plato's Euthyphron* throughout. This was the Reason why *Plato* banish'd the Poets from his Republic.

“gionists) is acknowledged to be the best
“and justest of the Gods, whom they
“confess to have bound his Father in
“Chains; yet they complain because I
“prosecute *my* Father, and thereby con-
“tradict themselves in judging so dif-
“ferently of the Gods and me.” Never-
theless, tho’ he found this Superstition
an almost invincible Obstacle to the Pro-
pagation of his own divine Doctrines, yet as
it was interwoven by the Legislature into
the civil Policy, and therefore whilst esta-
blish’d a Support to the Laws of his Coun-
try, which he always held in the highest
Veneration, he prosecuted the End in view,
not like a wild Enthusiast intoxicated with
his own Notions of Right, but with the
Caution and Concern of a Patriot, thro’
all Measures respecting the Peace of So-
ciety, and gently endeavoring by Degrees
to untwist that civil and religious Union,
which the Priests had so artfully wove to-
gether. He very well knew that the first Pre-
judices of Education are not all at once to
be eradicated from human Hearts, especially
from those of a People complexionally prone,
as the *Athenians* were, to the grossest Super-
stition ³⁰. He therefore seemingly comply’d
with

³⁰ This Observation the eloquent Apostle St. *Paul* made
upon the *Athenians* some Centuries after, when he preached

BOOK I. SOCRATES. 29

with all the external Ceremonies of Devotion, and often sacrificed to the Gods upon the common Altars of the City³¹. This occasional

the living God at *Athens*, where being summoned to appear in the *Areopagus*, (which was then the Court appointed to inspect into all Innovations in religious Affairs) and being called upon for preaching new Gods, he began thus: *Ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστερες υμας θεωρω*, *Act. cap. xvii.* and afterwards took advantage of this Superstition, and preached his own Doctrine under the Sanction of their Institutions; for observing an Altar with this Inscription upon it, *To the Unknown God*, (which, conformable to ancient Paganism, when the Temples were not filled, was left as a Tenement ready to receive any Deity newly introduced) he thus piously and wisely perverted that blind Zeal, which tended to the Promotion of Polytheism, and made it instrumental to the Worship of the ONE living God. *Διερχόμενος* (says he) *καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβασμὰ αὐμῶν, εὐρεὼν καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγεγραπτόν, ΑΓΝΩΣΤῶ ΘΕῶ, ὃν ἐν ἀγνοουμένης εὐσεβεῖτε, τὸν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιησας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, ὑπὸς ἡμῶν καὶ γῆς Κυρεῖοις ὑπαρχῶν, καὶ ἐν χερσπονήοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ χερῶν ἀνθρώπων θεραπεύεται, περὶ δὲ οὗτος οὐκ οἶδμεν τίς ἐστιν, αὐτὸς δίδως πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ τὰ πάντα*, *Act. cap. xvii.* One thing more is very remarkable, that is, when the Writer of the *Acts of the Apostles* says, *τινες δὲ τῶν Ἑπικυρεῶν, καὶ τῶν Στωικῶν φιλοσοφῶν συνεκαλλον αὐτῷ καὶ τινες ἐλεγον τι ἀν θεοῖς ἀπερμολογοῦς ὑπὸς λεγεῖν; οἱ δὲ ΞΕΝῶΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙῶΝ καταγγέλευς εἶναι*, he never mentions the Sect of *Platonists*, which was the most considerable at that Time in *Athens*. The Reason is this: The *Platonists*, even corrupted as they then were, still retained so much of their Founder's Principles as to have a just Notion of the Unity of the DEITY, and therefore were necessarily Friends to that Part of the Doctrine of the holy *Apostle*.

³¹ Οὐμὼν φανεροῦς ἦν πολλακίς μὲν οἰκοί, πολλακίς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς Πόλεως βωμῶν. *Xen. Mem. lib.* For the same Reason *Xenophon* built a Temple to *Diana*. Vide *Strabon*.

occasional Conformity ³² sheltered him a while from the Notice of the jealous Hierarchy, and gave him frequent Opportunities of conversing with the most eminent Citizens, whilst their Minds were warm with Gratitude to Heaven at the Shrines of their imaginary Deities, and thereby converting, by his irresistible Arguments, their Zeal to the Service of Truth and Religion ³³.

'Twas

³² Vide Plat. Apol.

³³ Mons. Rollin not duly considering the Nature of the human Mind, and the Necessity there was at that Time for such a Compliance, condemns this pretended Conformity of *Socrates* to the Superstition of the *Athenians*, and with an Air of ill-natur'd Triumph, not becoming the Character of so good a Man, as the Professor really was, cries out, "En se defendant devant le peuple, il declara qu'il avoit toujours reconnu et honoré les memes dieux que les Atheniens. Voilà (says he) donc le Prince des Philosophes déclaré par l'Oracle de Delphes le plus sage des hommes, qui malgré sa conviction intime d'une unique divinité, meurt dans le Sein de l'Idolatrie, et en faisant profession d'adorer tous les dieux du paganisme." Hist. anc. v. 4. Thus after having proved thro' the whole Course of that Chapter, that *Socrates* constantly and invariably believed and taught the *Unity* of the *DEITY*, when it was proper to communicate that important tho' dangerous Truth, he undoes all his Work in the Conclusion, by affirming upon account of this *external* and *popular* Declaration, that he died in the Bosom of *polytheistic* Idolatry; intimating that such Professions proceeded from Fear, and not from a Principle of social Love (as it shall be proved they did in its proper Place, vide Book V. Note 13.) and the Directions of Wisdom: but this, it seems afterwards, was introduced only to make a Comparison betwixt the *Prince of Philosophers* and some *Christian* Martyrs, who resolutely defended their Opinions upon all Occasions, and fell a Sacrifice

BOOK I. SOCRATES. 31

'Twas upon one of these Occasions that he met *Alcibiades* ³⁴ going to the Temple, and having interrogated him according to Custom concerning his Intention, and demonstrated the Danger of ill-plac'd Petitions to the Gods, and mistaken Worship, perswaded the young *Athenian* to desist from his Design, and made him almost a Convert to Truth. " Don't you think (says he) that " there is need of great Precaution in every " one, lest while he thinks he prays for " Good, he should ask the greatest Evil?" Then having convinced him of the Ignorance of Men, and the Goodness of the great GOVERNOR of the Universe, who disposes all Things for the best, and educes Good out of what we think Evil, he gave him this short Prayer of an ancient Poet, as comprehensive alone of all Petitions. " GREAT GOD, give us those Things which " are good for us, whether we pray for " them

Sacrifice to the Fury of their Persecutors without any Recantation. He need not have been at this Trouble to depreciate the Character of *Socrates*, in order to make *their* Virtues the more conspicuous; for had he let it remain in its own genuine unsullied Lustre, the Actions of one who was only *mediately* governed by Heaven, must necessarily be infinitely inferior to those of others, who were *immediately inspired*. Such awkward and needless Attempts to recommend, have done more Disservice to our holy Religion than the warmest Attacks of the most learned Infidelity,

³⁴ The whole Discourse is in that Dialogue of *Plato's*, entitled the *second Alcibiades*, or concerning Prayer.

“ them or no ; and keep those Things which
 “ are hurtful from us, even tho’ we should
 “ ask them of thee ³⁵.

Whilst he was thus gloriously employed in vindicating the Honor of the divine Nature on one Hand, by alienating the Affections of Mankind from such horrid Superstitions and absurd Prejudices, he had on the other as false Opinions of a different Extreme to confute, which were equally ungrateful to the Benevolence of Heaven ; for whilst the well-meaning Errors of those, who were stubbornly zealous in a misapply’d Devotion, had loaded Religion with contemptible Pomp and Superfluities, a kind of a *fashionable* Infidelity prevailed among others, which tended to the total Destruction of it. “ Let it be a sufficient Reason (said he to one of these who required a Sight of God for a Conviction of the Existence of his Being) “ to honor and adore “ the Gods ³⁶ that you have seen their
 “ Works,

³⁵ Ζευ Βασιλευ, τα μεν εδλα χ’ ευχομενοις χ’ ανευκτοις
 Αμμι διδου, τα δε δεινα χ’ ευχομενοις απαλεξεν
 Κελευει. Plut. Alcib.

³⁶ Cudworth is willing to prove from this Passage, that Socrates was a real Polytheist. His Remark is this : “ But
 “ notwithstanding Socrates his thus clear acknowledging ONE
 “ SUPREME and UNIVERSAL NUMEN, it doth not therefore
 “ follow that he rejected all those other inferior Gods of the
 “ Pagani, as is commonly conceived ; but the contrary
 “ thereunto appeareth from this Passage now cited, wherein
 “ there

BOOK I. SOCRATES. 33

“ Works, and look upon this to be the only
 “ way in which they manifest themselves to
 “ us. Of all the Deities that are so benefi-
 “ cent to us, none of them have in the
 “ Execution of their Goodness appeared to
 “ our Sight; and that SOVEREIGN GOD who
 “ created all Things, and continues to go-
 “ vern the Universe, is seen as the Author
 “ of such wonderful Works, but neverthe-
 “ less is invisible to our Eyes in this divine
 “ Employment. The Soul of Man partakes
 “ (if any thing human can do so) of the
 “ *divine Nature*, and that it governs the
 “ Body is observable to all; but the Soul
 “ itself is imperceptible to our Sense of see-
 “ ing. Considering these Things therefore,
 “ you ought not to despise the Beings that
 “ are concealed from the Sight, but becom-
 C ing

“ there is Mention made of other *Gods* besides the SUPREME.”
 Intell. Syst. p. 400. But surely this great and learned Divine
 had not thoroughly considered the Character and Scope of
Socrates, nor the whole Tenor of this Passage in *Xenophon*,
 when he asserted, that our Philosopher did not reject the
 popular *Pagan Gods*, because *other Gods* are mentioned be-
 sides the SUPREME. It must be considered, that *Socrates*
 was disputing in this Place with a Man very much prone if
 not to positive *Atheism*, yet to the highest Scepticism in Af-
 fairs of Religion; his Business therefore was to bring him
 over from such erroneous Opinions the most obvious way
 possible, and this was to be done by familiarizing his No-
 tions by Degrees to the Existence of *some Deity*, and after-
 wards to convince him of the *only True ONE*. This then he
 did with the greatest Address imaginable, by beginning with
 th

“ing acquainted with their Power from
 “what they perform, 'tis your Duty to wor-
 “ship the Divinity :”. In such Exhorta-
 tions was he constantly employed; for he
 very well knew how quick the Transition is
 from unsettled Scepticism in Affairs of Re-
 ligion, to a total Neglect of all when the
 Mind is ungovern'd by the Dictates of Rea-
 son, or sway'd by Prejudice, or seduc'd by
 Pleasure; and that too frequently to the
 Contempt of the *outward Forms* of Wor-
 ship, ensu'd the unrestrain'd Omission of
 divine Worship in general. He therefore
 took the most particular Care to inculcate,
 that the DEITY was pleased with these un-
 feigned, though not wanted, Acknowledg-
 ments of his divine Goodness. Thus
 when

these Allusions to the Physiological (and not to either the
 Civil or Fabulous) Theology of the Deities who directed
 the Heat and Light, the Thunder, Rains, Winds, &c. &c.
 all which natural Causes untheologized were so beneficial to
 Mankind. These he calls *Gods*, and the *Ministers* of the
Gods, to adapt his Language to the Capacity of *Enthydemus*.
 However we find that he asserts that there was one Supreme
 Being, who created and continues to govern all Things for
 universal Good, whom he not only calls by way of Distinction
 'O [*i. e.* Θεός] but in the Conclusion says, to indicate more
 circumstantially his Meaning, *χρη τιμὰν τὸ Δαίμονιον*.
 Whether any one who believes in such a Being, and his ne-
 cessary Attributes, can really afterwards imagine that he
 would admit more Beings into an Equality of State, or
 Sameness of Essence, with himself, I leave the serious Reader
 to determine.

Book I. SOCRA TES. 35

when *Aristodemus*, a Man inclinable to an irreligious Disregard of that reverential Awe due to the CREATOR of the World, said, "That he was too great a Being to need his Worship;" *Socrates* replied, "The Greater he is, the more Respect is due unto him ³⁸." To which this Libertine answering, "That he would not be remiss in his Regard to the Gods, if he thought they concerned themselves with human Affairs;" *Socrates* proceeded to demonstrate, that all Things were not only dispos'd by a *divine Power* for *universal* Harmony, but that there was also a *particular* Care taken of Mankind; and then concludes his Confutation of those *Atheistical* ³⁹ Notions, with this beautiful Il-

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lustration

³⁸ Xenoph. Mem. lib. 1.

³⁹ I call these Notions *Atheistical*, because of their Tendency to promote a Practice justly deemed so. Thus *Epicurus* and his Followers, who espoused these very Sentiments of *Aristodemus*, tho' they believ'd the *Existence* of a *Deity* or *Deities*, as he did, yet, as they entertained such unworthy Opinions of their *Natures*, in regard to their Indifference towards Mankind, were by the united Suffrage of all other Sects called *Atheists*. The *Roman Epicurean* Poet, who retails the Tenets of the whole Sect, speaking of the *divine Nature* says,

— *Divum natura* —

Semota ab nostris rebus, sejunctaque longe;

Nec bene promeritis capitur, &c.

Lucr. De Nat. Rer. lib. 1.

In

lustration of the Almighty Power of GOD compar'd by Analogy with the infinitely inferior Faculties of Man, which he before prov'd to excel in the highest Degree those of all other Animals. " Observe, " my Friend (says he) how the Soul governs at Will the Body it inspires; be " convinc'd therefore that the DIVINE SAPIENCE, which pervades the Universe, " governs in like manner all Things according to its Pleasure. Think not if " your Eye is able to see many Furlongs, " that it is impossible for the Eye of GOD " to behold all Things: Or, if your Soul " is capable of thinking of what happens " either

In the same manner *Velleius*, that impudent *Epicurean*, in *Tully's* Book *De Natura Deorum* describes from his Master the *divine Nature*. " *Vera exposita est* (says he) *illa sententia* " *ab Epicuro, quod æternum, beatumq; sit, id nec habere* " *ipsum negotii quidquam, nec exhibere altera.*" *Cicer. De Nat. Deor.* As if the Happiness of the *DEITY* consisted in Idleness! Thus our Species was left by these *Ideal Epicurean Gods* (who were drawn like their mortal Devotees in a State of pleasurable Indolence, having no Intercourse with, or Care of Mankind) as much to a *forlorn Nature and fatherless World* (as a noble Author phrases it) as if there had been no God at all. *Cudworth* is of Opinion that *Epicurus* himself was an absolute *Atheist*. " [*Intell. Syst. p. 60.*] and that he " only professed his Belief of such Beings to decline the common Odium, and those Dangers and Inconveniences which " otherwise he might have incurred by a downright Denial " of a God." Whether such were his Opinions or no is little material, since even his own Professions, tho' not strictly so in Language, were *atheistical* as relative to Mankind, and equally destructive to Morality.

BOOK I. S O C R A T E S. 37

“ either here, in *Egypt*, or in *Sicily*, that
 “ the all-comprehending Wisdom is unable
 “ to take Care of the whole Creation. In
 “ like manner (adds the philosophic Histo-
 “ rian) *Socrates* taught his Disciples to re-
 “ frain from doing what was unjust and
 “ base, not only when they were in pub-
 “ lic, but in the most private Recesses, as
 “ no Action, how sacred soever, could be
 “ concealed from the Inspection of the
 “ Deity *^o.”

The Reputation of *Socrates* being pretty well established on Account of his uncommon Doctrines and Abilities, he soon became the Envy of Sophists, who too plainly perceived their Audiences daily decrease to attend to his Discourses ; but what still heightened their Resentment, was the unwearied Pains he successfully took to confute their Sophistry and detect their Ignorance ; for as we find in *Plato* *¹, he would frequently enter into Disputes with them, and never fail'd of triumphing over all their Arts, and receiving an Applause due to his Merit, even from their own Disciples, whom he generally made Profelytes in the End, and added to the Train of his own Followers. As the Reader, I

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imagine,

*^o Xen. Mem. lib. 1.

*¹ Plat. Prot. Soph. &c. &c.

imagine, may be desirous of knowing by what Arts these vain Professors of Wisdom had rais'd themselves into such Esteem in every City of Greece, I shall transcribe the Fable which *Protagoras* used in that famous Dispute with *Socrates*, to prove, *that Virtue could be taught*, as a proper Specimen of such learned Delusion.

“ There was a Time (says he) when
 “ the Gods were alone, and mortal Beings
 “ were not made; but when the fated
 “ Time for Creation of these came, the
 “ Gods form'd them in the Earth, by mix-
 “ ing Earth, Fire, and other Elements
 “ whereof they are composed, together;
 “ but when they were about to bring
 “ them to Light, they ordered ⁴² *Prome-*
 “ *theus* and *Epimetheus* to adorn them, and
 “ distribute to them all convenient Qua-
 “ lities. *Epimetheus* requested *Prometheus*
 “ that he might be suffered to make this
 “ Distribution, and that *Prometheus* should
 “ be a Spectator of the Operation. The
 “ latter consented, and the former enter'd
 “ into his Employment. In this Division
 “ then

⁴² In this ingenious Fable, which is allegorical, under the Name of *Prometheus* is personalized that MIND which was created by the FIRST CAUSE to pervade and govern the Universe; and under that of *Epimetheus* is represented mere Nature, and the second Substitute of the CREATOR, according to the Tenet of several ancient Philosophers.

“then he gave Strength without Swiftneſs .
 “to ſome, and others that were weaker he
 “furniſh’d with Swiftneſs. To ſome he
 “gave a natural Armor, and upon thoſe
 “who were defenceleſs in this Point, he
 “beſtowed other Means of Safety. He
 “taught ſeveral to whom he had given
 “ſmall Bodies, to ſeek for Safety in the
 “Air by their Wings, or to find it in the
 “Caverns of the Earth; and thoſe to
 “whom he had allotted large Bodies, he
 “inſtructed to defend themſelves by their
 “Bulk. Thus he finiſhed his impartial
 “Distribution, taking particular Care that
 “no Race ſhould be extirpated. . After
 “having ſufficiently provided them with
 “Means for defending themſelves againſt
 “each other, he contriv’d in the next
 “place a Protection againſt the Inclemen-
 “cies of the Weather, and cloathed them
 “with thick Hair and ſtrong Skins, ſuffi-
 “cient to expel the Winter’s Cold and
 “Summer’s Heat, which ſerv’d as a Co-
 “vering and a Bed to lye upon when they
 “ſlept; and he likewiſe arm’d their Feet
 “with Claws, and their Soles with a ſtif-
 “fer Poil, and a Skin of a more callous
 “Nature. When this was done, he be-
 “ſtowed proper Food upon each; to ſome
 “he assigned Herbs and Fruit, to others
 “Roots of the Earth, and there was
 “a third Sort to whom he gave the Fleſh

" of other Animals for Sustenance; but to
 " these he granted small Increase, and
 " made others, whom they fed upon,
 " extremely fruitful, for the Preservation
 " of the Kind. But *Epimetheus* being not
 " perfectly wise ⁴³ he forgot that, by be-
 " stowing all these Powers upon Beasts,
 " he had left the human Race defenceless,
 " and therefore was confounded what to
 " do in this Case, when *Prometheus* in the
 " Midst of this Difficulty came to inspect
 " into his Administration. He saw upon
 " this Inspection that all Animals had every
 " thing convenient for them, excepting
 " Man, who was left naked, unarm'd, and
 " totally unprovided for. The fated Day
 " being now come, when Man was to be
 " brought into Light, *Prometheus* having
 " no other Way to provide for his Safety,
 " stole from *Minerva* and *Vulcan* their Wis-
 " dom relating to Arts, together with Fire
 " from the latter, (for without Fire this
 " Wisdom would have been useless) and
 " bestowed them upon Man. With these
 " Man provided himself with the Necessa-
 " ries of Life, but as yet had not receiv'd
 " the Knowledge which related to Politics.
 " That

⁴³ This Expression *ou παν σοφος*, and the Etymology of
 the Word *Επιμηθευς*, sufficiently demonstrate that mere Na-
 TURE was hereby meant, as is observ'd in the Note above
 [n. ⁴²]

" That Knowledge was in the Possession
 " of JUPITER, and it was not permitted
 " *Prometheus* to enter into the high Habi-
 " tation of the *first* of the Gods, whose
 " Throne was surrounded by such terrible
 " Guards as deterred him from the At-
 " tempt. He therefore went into the com-
 " mon Room, where *Vulcan* and *Minerva*
 " exercis'd this Art, and stealing clande-
 " stinely from the one the executive Part,
 " and from the other the inventive, he be-
 " stowed it, as was mention'd before, upon
 " Man, and with that he had the Power
 " of acquiring what was needful for the
 " Support of Life ⁴⁴. *Prometheus* (as was
 " said) was afterwards punished for this
 " Theft, which was occasion'd by the Ne-
 " glect and Omission of *Epimetheus*. Thus
 " Man having partook of this divine Lot,
 " was the only one of all Animals, who, by
 " Reason of his Affinity to the *divine Na-*
 " *ture*, perceiv'd *there were Gods*; who
 " built Altars and erected Statues in Ho-
 " nour of them; he invented articulate
 " Sounds, and Names for all Things, built
 " Houses, made Cloaths, and gathered Food
 " for

⁴⁴ In this Place the fabulous *Theology*, or more properly
Mythology, is confounded with the *Physiological*; but it is
 observable that this Sentence, as not properly belonging to
 the rest, is introduc'd in a kind of Parenthesis, with this cau-
 tionary Expression, *ἡπὲρ λεγέται*.

“ for himself, from the Fruit of the Earth.
“ Nevertheless, though Men were thus
“ provided for, in the Beginning they
“ dwelt dispers’d; for as yet there were
“ no Cities, and were often devoured on
“ account of their inferior Strength by the
“ wild Beasts. For these Arts were suffi-
“ cient to acquire Nourishment for their
“ Bodies it is true, but were useless in the
“ Wars against their Enemies the wild
“ Beasts, for they were entirely ignorant of
“ Politics, of which the Art of War is
“ one Branch. That they might therefore
“ be defended against these Inconvenien-
“ cies, they gathered themselves together
“ and built Cities; but when they were
“ collected into Societies, not having Know-
“ ledge of civil Laws, they offer’d Vio-
“ lences to one another, and for that Rea-
“ son were obliged to disperse again, and
“ became once more expos’d to the Fury of
“ the Beasts. JUPITER fearing the Race
“ of Mankind should be extirpated, sent
“ Mercury to carry *Shame* and *Justice*
“ among Men, that they might be Orna-
“ ments to Cities, and confirm the Bonds
“ of Love and Friendship among them.
“ Mercury ask’d JUPITER in what Manner
“ he should distribute *Shame* and *Justice*,
“ whether in the same as the Arts were?
“ For these, said he, were divided thus: He
“ who

BOOK I. S O C R A T E S. 43

“ who has the medicinal Art is able to
 “ serve many Individuals, as are all other
 “ Artists in their respective Way; and shall
 “ I distribute *Shame* and *Justice* according to
 “ this Rule, or give them indiscriminately
 “ to all? *To all*, replied JUPITER; they
 “ must *all* be Partakers of them, for no City
 “ will ever be able to exist if they are only
 “ communicated to a few, as the Arts are.
 “ Besides, you shall proclaim this Law in
 “ my Name, that *he who has not Shame*
 “ *and Justice shall be cut off as a Plague*
 “ *to Society* *5.”

The Reader will easily observe how many false Circumstances are artfully obtruded into this Fable, and it was thro' such fallacious Vehicles the *Sophists* conveyed their spurious Wisdom; in which plausible Deceits they were so long and early train'd up, that, tho' it was no difficult Matter to confute them and detect their erroneous Reasoning before competent Judges of Truth, it would have been impracticable to have undeceiv'd the Populace, and such as most wanted Instruction, by the common Methods of the same refined Eloquence *6. On this Account *Socrates*

*5 Plat. Prot. p. 23.

*6 Thus we find by *Plato's* Dialogue, that *Protagoras* triumphed for a while over *Socrates*, [Plat. Pro. p. 232.] and received

crates introduced that Method of Reasoning called ⁴⁷ *Induction*, which by always interrogating, and never affirming any thing, investigated Truth without dogmatically asserting it, and made the Antagonist himself, before he was aware of the Counter-plot laid against him, confute the Fallacy of his own

received a Clap of Applause from the Audience as a Token of Victory, till he was brought to answer to those short Interrogations, which soon confounded his evasive sophistical Oratory, and concluded the Dispute to his Conviction.

⁴⁷ *Tully* speaking of the Manner by which *Socrates* confuted his Opponents, says, "Hoc modo [*i. e. inductione*]" "*Socrates* plurimum usus est, propterea quod nihil ipse afferre ad persuadendum volebat, sed ex eo, quod sibi ille dederat, qui cum disputabat, aliquid conficere malebat, quod ille ex eo, quod jam concessisset, necessario approbare deberet." *Cic. de Invent. lib. 1.* *Quintilian* too describes it thus: "Illa qua plurimum *Socrates* est usus, hanc habuit viam, ut cum plura interrogasset quæ fateri adversario recessse esset novissime id de quo quærebatur, inferet cui simile concessisset. Id est *Inductio*." *Quint. de Instit. Ora. lib. 5. c. 11.* And this is the Method pursued in the Dialogues of *Plato*, as the same Author observes: "Si quod tamen exemplum ad imitationem demonstrandum sit, solum est quod ex dialogis *Socraticorum*, maximeque *Platonis*, duci potest: in quibus adeo scitæ sunt interrogationes, ut cum plerisque bene respondeatur, res tamen ad id quod volunt efficere, perveniat." *Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7.* Another Reason for using *Induction*, besides that already assign'd, was his *Diffidence*, for he would never positively assert any thing, as *Aristotle* testifies, *επει κ' δια τετο Σωκράτης ηρώα αλλ' εκ απεικεινέτο ομολογει γδ μη ειδεναι.* *De Soph. Elench. lib. 2. c. 34.* *Socrates* owns in the *Sophist* of *Plato*, that he learnt this Method from *Parmenides*.—*δι' ερωτησεων οιον ποτε κ' Παρμενιδην χρωμενω κ' διεξιον τι λογοις παγκτα τοις παρεξηομην εγω Νεος ων.*

BOOK I. SOCRATES. 45

own ill-grounded Propositions. By these Means he, without assuming any Pretension to Knowledge himself, baffled the Sophistry, detected the Ignorance, and exposed the vain-glorious Designs of these pompous Professors of Wisdom.

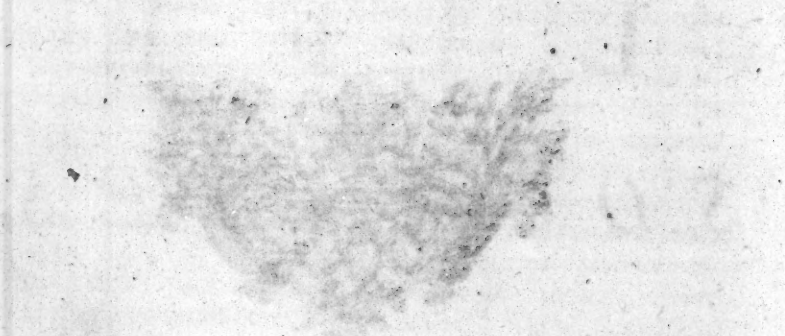
The End of the FIRST BOOK.



THE

BOOK 2000 A.P. 183.
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the office of the Secretary of the Board of Education, since the last meeting of the Board, at which time the names of the persons who had been admitted to the office of the Secretary of the Board of Education, were published in the report of the Board, at that time.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.



THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.



L. P. Boitard, Jno. et Sculp.

THE
L I F E
O F
S O C R A T E S.
B O O K II.

ABOUT the Time that *Socrates* began to be eminent, *Plato* was born at *Athens*; and among the many other fabulous Accounts which are related concerning this Philosopher, one in particular

▪ There was a common Story prevailed (in the Stile of those Times, which made something or other miraculous attend or precede the Birth of every great Man) that *Apollo* appear'd to *Aristo*, [Vide Suid. et Plutar. Symp.] the Father of *Plato*, in a Dream, and forbad him to have any Commerce

lar is told as a prophetic Vision of his future Glory. 'Tis said *Socrates* dreamt one Night * that a young Swan flew from the Altar which was in the *Academy* consecrated to *Love*, and settled in his Bosom; and afterwards, being grown to full Maturity, took his Flight towards Heaven, and charm'd both Gods and Men with the Sweetness of his Song. 'Tis farther added that *Socrates*, many Years after, when *Aristo* brought his Son first to the *Academy*, cry'd out to the rest of his Disciples, This is the Swan, pointing to *Plato*, which I saw fly from the Altar of *Love*, and settle in my Bosom. But regarding

merce with his Wife *Perictione*, because she was with Child by him; that *Aristo* obey'd, and *Perictione* being brought to Bed of *Plato* on the Day of the Nativity of *Apollo*, it was look'd upon that he was the Child of that God. *Plutarch* thinks this was meant allegorically, and in that Sense he observes, *Plato* may justly be said to be the Son of the God of Physic, because he cur'd the Souls of Men from the worst of Distempers, inordinate Desires. But whatever Design the Author had in the Invention, such was the Superstition of the Times, that it was believ'd to be literally true. *St. Jerome* somewhere adds, that the Philosophers who propagated this Story (they must be very poor Philosophers indeed) believ'd too, that *Plato* was born of a Virgin.

² *Somnium Socrates scitum fertur. Nam vidisse sibi visus est cygni pullum ex altari, quod in Academia Cupidini consecratum est, volasse et in ejus gremio residisse: et postea olerem illum pennis cælum petisse, canore musico auditus hominum Deorumque mulcentem. Luc. Apul. de Dog. Plat.* Another Prognostication of the same Kind attended *Plato* in his Infancy, according to the Traditions of the same Wonder-telling Ages. When he was yet in the Arms of his Mother, she

BOOK II. SOCRA TES. 49

ing fuch Stories as thefe in their true Light, viz. the After-invention of ingenious Writers, who thus *figuratively* describ'd that exalted Genius in a few Words, which the utmoft Extent of their own never could have done in plain Language, *Plato* in every Refpect answered this emblematical Description. He is represented, for the Sweetnefs and Harmony of his Stile, by a Swan, the ancient Symbol of Mufic; by the Altar of *Love* in the Gardens of *Academos*, is depicted that Humanity or Philanthropy which was the great Excellence of that glorious Seminary; the fettling in the Bosom of *Socrates*, flying from thence towards Heaven, and

D charming

the and her Husband *Aristo* went to the Mountain *Hymettus* to facrifice to the *Mufes*, and whilst they were employ'd in the facred Ceremonies, they laid the Child in a Thicket of Myrtles; in whose Mouth, as he fleep, a Swarm of Bees fettled and made a Honey-comb. *Ælian*. var. hift. lib. 20. cap. 21. Antiquity abounds with Legends of this Sort concerning eminent Men, Heroes, Philofophers, and Poets, in allufion to which, *Horace* beautifully describes himfelf in the fame Situation.

*Me fabuloſæ Vulture in Appulo,
Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,
Ludo fatigatumque ſomno,
Fronde novâ puerum palumbæ
Texere - - - - -
Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
Dormirem & urſis: ut premerer ſacra
Lauroque, collataque myrto,
Non ſine diſ animoſus infans.*

Lib. 3. od. 4.

charming both Gods and Men with his melodious Voice, signify, that after he had gain'd the Knowledge of Truth from the very Breast of his divine Master, he adorn'd it with such beautiful and sublime Language, that tho' his Doctrines might be easily comprehended for their Simplicity by the lowest of Mankind, they became the Admiration of those too that were exalted above the rest of their Species by the most refin'd Understandings.

The Fame of *Socrates* still increasing more and more, not only at *Athens* but thro' all *Greece*, he was resorted to from all Quarters by the most eminent³ and learned Men: and tho, the common Practice of the Times⁴ allowed him to take a proper

³ *Aulus Gellius* relates a remarkable Instance of the Resolution of one of *Socrates's* Disciples, who underwent the greatest Danger to come to attend his Discourses. "Decreto *Athenienses* caverant, ut, qui *Megarum* civis esset, si intulisset *Athenas* pedem prehensus esset, ut ea res ei homini capitalis esset, tanto *Athenienses* odio flagrabant finitimum hominum *Megarensium*. Tum *Euclides*, qui idem *Megarum* erat, quique, ante id decretum et esse *Athenis* et audire *Socratem* consueverat, postquam id decretum sanxerunt, sub noctem, quum advesperesceret, tunica longa muliebri indutus, et pallio versicolore amictus, et caput rica velatus, e domo sua *Megarum Athenas* ad *Socratem* commeabat; ut vel noctis aliquo tempore consiliorum sermonumque ejus fieret particeps: rursusque sub lucem millia passuum paulo amplius viginti, eadem veste illa tectus redibat." Noct. Attic. lib. 6. c. 10

⁴ The Thirst after Knowledge among the *Athenian* Youth was so great, that they gave incredible Sums to the *Sophists* for

BOOK II. SOCRATES. 51

proper Reward for his Labors, by which he might soon have acquir'd immense Riches; such was the disinterested Generosity of this benevolent man, that he would never receive, even in his greatest Exigencies, any pecuniary Consideration for his Instructions, but freely distributed to all, as their Occasions requir'd, the inestimable Treasure of Wisdom and Virtue, which Gold could never purchase. On this Account *Plato* makes him say in his *Apology* that he was sent by God himself to the *Athenians*; but this seems to be more *Plato's* own Thought of him than *Socrates's* Expression; and it is greatly conformable to the Stile of this great Disciple whenever he spoke of his Master, whom he almost ador'd: and in the last Hours of his Life, having prais'd the great CREATOR for all his Bounties in general, he thank'd him for these three Things in particular; first, *that he had given him a reason-*

D 2

able

for Instruction, as we find in *Plato's Protagoras*, where *Hippocrates* the Son of *Apollodorus* declares to *Socrates*, that he would give the *Sophists* not only all the Money he was then possess'd of, but would borrow more of his Friends for that End. See also *Plato's Hippias major*.

ὅτι δ' ἐγὼ τυγχάνω ὡν τοιοῦτος ὁίος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ πόλει δέδοται, ἐνθένδε ἀικαλιανοῦσαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπινον εἶκοι το ἐμὲ τῶν μὲν ἐμαυτῇ ἀπαντῶν ἡμελεκεῖναι, καὶ ἀρχεῖν τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελεμετῶν τοσαῦτα ἡδὴ ἐστὶν, το δὲ ἡμετέρων προετλῆναι, ἰδίᾳ ἐκαστῷ προσηοίᾳ, ὡς περ πάτερ, ἢ ἀδελφόν, πρεσβύτερον, πειθούῃ ἐπεμελεῖσθαι κρήνης. *Plat. Apol.*

able Soul, that is, made him a Man, and not a Beast; the second was, that he was born a Greek, and not a Barbarian; and the third, above all, that he was born whilst Socrates was alive ⁶.

Amidst this Heart-enobling Pursuit after Wisdom and Virtue, amidst the Caresses and almost Adoration of the wisest and best Men, the Soul of *Socrates* was never elevated above the common Concerns of private Life, or the less engaging Stations of public Service, by that scientific Affectation, which has too often tainted the Breasts of Philosophers; for a military Expedition being projected against the *Bæotians*, he voluntarily ⁷ embarked in the Enterprize, being forward upon every Opportunity to prefer the Call of his Country to his own private Inclinations. After some Time the two Armies join'd Battle at *Delium*, where the *Athenians* being overcome, and a great Havock made in their Troops, ⁸ *Socrates* signiliz'd his Courage both in the Battle and the Retreat; in the latter, not precipitately flying as the rest of the

⁶ Plut. in vit. Marii.

⁷ For a more explicit Account of this Expedition, vide Thucyd. lib. 4.

⁸ In *Plato's* Dialogue entitled *Laches*, the General, so call'd, declares, that if every one had done his Duty at the Battle of *Delium* like *Socrates*, the Fate of the Day would have been inverted, and the *Bæotians* vanquish'd.

BOOK II. SOCRATES. 53

the Army did, but retiring Foot by Foot with his Face • still towards the Enemy ; when perceiving *Xenophon* thrown from his Horse and wounded, he took him upon his Shoulders, and carried him out of all Danger !°. By this Action he both did the Re-

D 3

public

⁹ The Retreat of *Ajax* in the *Iliad* is the same.

Εἰς ἑρπαλιζομενος, ὀλιγον γονυ γενος αμειβων.

Il. λ. lin. 545.

As is that of *Menelaus*, *Iliad*. lib. P. lin. 109. And that of *Turnus* in *Virgil*, *Æn*.

Ceu sævum turba leonem

Cum telis premit insensis : at territus ille,

Asper, acerba tuens, retro redit : et neque terga

Ira dare, aut virtus patitur ; nec tendere contra

Ille quidem hoc cupiens potis est per tela virosque.

Haud aliter retro dubius vestigia Turnus

Improperata refert.

lib. 9. lin. 792.

Diogenes Laertes describes the Retreat of *Socrates* thus :

Αὐτὸς ἡρέμα ἀνέχωρεi παρῆστις ῥεφομενος πούχη, καὶ τήρων ἀμυνάδῃ ἐκ τῆς αἰ ἀπειλῆς. In *vit. Soc.* Even the paltzy Buffoon *Lucian*, whose Soul seems to have had a natural Antipathy to every serious Concern of Humanity, the laughing Malignity of which was never more gratify'd than when the most sacred Characters, and most godlike Actions our Nature is capable of, became the Object of its Scurrility ; even he, who would have been rejoic'd, from his known Distate to all that was good or great, to have scoff'd at the Valor of *Socrates*, was forc'd against his own Disposition by the Power of Truth to bear Testimony to the great Merit of this Action. Speaking of a fictitious Battle among the Dead, he places *Socrates* among the greatest Heroes of Antiquity, and even signalizing his Courage above them all, wherein he alludes to this memorable Engagement at *Delium*. *Ἡεῖσευσε δὲ Σωκράτης ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ταχθεὶς πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἢ ὅτε ζῶν ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ ἐμάχετο ὑπερσίωνων καὶ πολεμίων ἔχουρας, καὶ τοῦ αἰσώτου ἀρετῆς ἑω.* Hist. ver. lib. 2.

¹⁰ Strab. Geog. lib. 9.

public the highest Service in preserving the Life of a Citizen, who afterwards was a noble Shield¹¹ and Ornament to it, and gain'd to himself a most unalterable Friend thro' Life, and a faithful Historian of his divine Actions and Precepts after his Death¹².

This Expedition being ended, *Socrates* return'd to *Athens*, where he found the *Priests*, *Sophists*, and *Orators*, had, during his Absence, form'd no inconsiderable Party against him. *Aristophanes*, the famous, or more properly infamous, comic Poet, hir'd, as it is suppos'd, by this Cabal to sound the Disposition of the People, was the first who attack'd him in a Comedy call'd *the Clouds*, wherein he was the chief Person of the Drama¹³. In this Piece *Socrates* was represented

¹¹ See his own Account of the Retreat of the ten thousand *Greeks* out of *Asia*, after the Defeat of *Cyrus* the Younger.

¹² *Xenophon's Memorabilia*.

¹³ The Comedy of the *Clouds* was acted for the first Time in the first Year of the eighty-ninth *Olympiad*, *Isarchus* being then *Archon*, and *Socrates* forty-five Years old, (according to the most ancient *Scholiasts* upon *Aristophanes*) when not being well receiv'd by the Audience, *Aristophanes* alter'd it, made several new Additions, and brought it again upon the Stage in the Year following, *Amyntas* being *Archon*, but with less Success than before. What ascertains the Date of the second Performance, even in the Comedy itself, is this remarkable Passage so sarcastical upon *Amyntas*, who during his Magistracy made a dishonorable Cessation of Arms with the *Lacedæmonians*.

BOOK II. SOCRATES. 55

presented hanging up in a Basket in the Air, uttering numberless chimerical Absurdities, and blaspheming, as it was then reputed, the Gods of his Country,

When *Socrates* heard of this Performance, he went to the Theatre, to be himself a Spectator, (tho' till then he never frequented those Diversions, except when the Tragedies of *Euripides* were perform'd, in which, 'tis reported, he himself had no inconsiderable Hand *) where, notwithstanding the gross Abuse that was offer'd to his Character, he did not shew the least Signs

D 4

of

Σωκρ. ----- Γωμαια δὴ τὴν Ἀμωβίαν καλεῖς.

Στρ. Οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος, ὅς τις ἔσθ' ἐνέλεται.

Ælian, according to his wonted Accuracy, has made a most egregious Blunder, either in regard to the Age of *Melitus* or the Date of this Piece, for he says that *Melitus* was concern'd in hiring *Aristophanes* to compose it; now *Melitus*, when *Socrates* was brought to his Tryal, (which was three or four and twenty Years after this Play was performed, being in the first Year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad) is call'd even then a very young Man; for *Socrates* speaks of him thus in *Plato's* Dialogue entitled *Euthyphron*, the Time of which is a little before his Condemnation, Νεὸς γὰρ τις μοι φαίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος. If therefore he was a young Man at the Accusation of *Socrates*, he certainly must have been too young to have entered into any Plots four and twenty Years before that Time. Whether it was this Blunder of *Ælian's*, or want of Attention, which has misled so many Moderns in regard to the Date and Success of this Comedy, (among whom to my no small Surprize is the learned *Stanley*) I won't determine. Among others who seem to be led astray by this Scrap retailing Historian, is the renown'd Mr. *Warburton*, whose great Sagacity I shall consider in the following Notes.

*) *Diog. Laert.* in vit. *Socr.*

of Resentment or Anger; nay such was the unparallell'd Good-nature [of this godlike Man, that, some Strangers there being desirous to see the Original of this scenic Picture, he rose up in the middle of the Performance, stood all the rest of the Time, and shew'd himself to the People; by which well-plac'd Confidence in his own Merit and Innocence, reminding them of those Virtues and Wisdom, so opposite to the *Sophist* in the Play, his pretended Likeness, he detected the false Circumstances which were obtruded into his Character, and obviated the malicious Designs of the Poet, who having brought his Play a second Time upon the Stage, met with the Contempt and Reproach he justly merited from such a Composition ¹⁵.

Thus

¹⁵ Mr. Warburton says, having, I suppose, great Faith in his old Friend *Ælian*, (whose palpable Blunders about this Comedy I have above detected) that *the Poet triumph'd*, which is contrary, not only to the Voice of all Antiquity, but to Probability and common Sense. For as this Play was acted to *sound* the People, if the Enemies of *Socrates* had had Success therein, they would certainly have taken him to a Tryal immediately; whereas we find on the contrary, that three or four and twenty Years past between the Performance of this Comedy and his Condemnation. Nevertheless he brings the *Nepelæ* as a conspicuous Example of the pernicious Effects of the Use of Ridicule. His Words are these: "We have upon Record [Ded. to the Div. Leg.] the most illustrious Example of this Contention that ever was, *viz.* between Truth and Ridicule. The Dispute I mean was between *Socrates* and *Aristophanes*. Here Truth had all
" the

Thus having turn'd the Edge of mis-apply'd Ridicule upon the proper Object, the Character of a *Sophist*, he made his own real Wisdom and Virtue conspicuous to all, by having undergone and being Proof against the fiery Tryal of this searching Test of

16 Truth.

Scarce

" the Advantage of Place, of Weapons, and of Judges ;
 " The first employ'd his whole Life in the Cause of Virtue ;
 " the other a few comie Scenes against it. But Heav'n's !
 " against what Virtue ? Against the purest and brightest Por-
 " tion of it that ever enlighten'd the Gentile World, &c.
 " For all this the comic Poet triumph'd, &c. and with the
 " coarsest kind of Buffoonry, little fitted, one would think,
 " to take so polite a People, had the Art to tarnish all this
 " Virtue ; and what was more, to make the Owner resemble
 " his direct Opposite, that Character he was most unlike,
 " that Character he most hated, that very Character he had
 " employed all his Wit to detect, lay open and confound ;
 " in one Word, the *Sophist*. The Consequences are well
 " known." Well, what Consequences are well known ?
 none that make for his Argument, but very unfortunately for
 him, against it. For as I have already prov'd, the Poet
 (tho' he with all the Address imaginable had prepared the
 People for a favorable Reception of his Piece by humoring
 their vulgar superstitious Prejudices, was supported by a Par-
 ty, and, on the contrary to what Mr. W. asserts, had all
 the Advantage on his Side) was disappointed in his Un-
 dertaking, and proved thereby the Truth of those Virtues
 in *Socrates*, which he intended to destroy. Therefore I must
 continue to tell this learned Writer, that the Example he has
 here produc'd is a sufficient Proof, that Ridicule can never
 affect Truth, and whatever suffers by the Use of it, must
 necessarily be false and deformed. For a farther Examina-
 tion of this Point, see the next Note.

16 Mr. Warburton (as well as all others who violently ex-
 claim against Ridicule) points his Arguments against the *Mis-
 use*, and not the *Use* of it. He brings another Example of
 the

Scarce was the Defeat at *Delium* recover'd, before the *Athenians* had another Oc-
 casion

the horrid and mischievous Effects of Ridicule; which Example, like Artillery ill manag'd by an unskilful Engineer, may be taken out of his Hands by an Enemy, and turn'd upon his own Argument: for instead of proving what he intended it should do, *that Truth itself may be so disguis'd as to be injur'd by Ridicule*, it is a plain Demonstration, even from his own Words, of the contrary; and only serves to shew, that there have been Men dishonest enough, to endeavor to bring into Contempt what was fair and good by the *Misuse* of Ridicule, and that all these Attempts in the End proved abortive. However let us bring him to a fair Tryal, and hear what he has to say for himself. "Very often (says he in the Ded. to the Div. Leg.) "the Change put upon us [he is here speaking of obtruding false Circumstances, &c. which is the *Misuse* of Ridicule] "is not so easily discernible." Not easily! he seems to palliate and be willing to come round again by this qualifying Expression; however I must beg leave humbly to assure him that nothing is *more easily discernible*. For not only all moral Philosophers agree, but our Senses hourly teach us, that there is implanted in human Nature an *internal Guide* to Truth, called the *moral Sense*, which, undistemper'd, upon any Proposition being offer'd to the Understanding, shews an instantaneous Disgust at what is false and deform'd, and as immediate a Satisfaction at what is good and beautiful, before Reason descends from the Throne of the Mind to give her infallible Approbation and Confirmation. But such Arguments as these, our Author, I suppose, according to his usual Manner when he cannot confute, will superciliously abuse and call *Platonic Reasoning, Academic Manners, &c.* Nevertheless he seems convinc'd of the Force of them, when, subjoining for once a well-applied Contempt of the paltry-talented *Scarron*, he says, "that the Buffoon did not see the Change "he had put upon himself, [in a notorious *Misuse* of Ridicule] but "perplex'd at the obstinate Resistance of Truth, "in the Conflict of his Ideas, imperceptibly turned the "Edge of his Raillery against the *Phantasm* of it, and was "the first that fell into his own Deceit." The Case according

casion to levy new Forces; for ¹² *Brasidas* the *Lacedæmonian* General having passed into *Thrace* at the Head of an Army, he seduced many Cities from the Republic of *Athens*, and among the rest *Amphipolis*, a Place of great Importance. *Socrates*, tho' he had so lately experienc'd the Danger of being

according to his own Relation is this: (Ded. to the Div. Leg.)

" *Sulpicius* tells *Cicero*, that returning by Sea from *Asia*, and

" seeing in his Course *Ægina*, *Megara*, the *Piræu*, and

" *Corinib* in Ruins, he fell into this very natural and human

" Reflection: *And shall we, short-liv'd Creatures as we are,*

" *bear with Impatience the Death of our Fellows, when in*

" *one single View we behold the Carcases of so many late*

" *flourishing Cities!* What could be juster or wiser than the

" Piety of this Reflection? and yet it could not escape the

" Ridicule of a celebrated French Buffoon: *If neither,* says

" *he, the Pyramids of Egypt, nor the Colosseum at Rome,*

" *could withstand the Injury of Time, why should I think*

" *much that my black Waistcoat is out at Elbows?* Here

he asserts, that the Justness and Wisdom of this pious Re-

flexion of *Sulpicius* could not escape the Ridicule of a cele-

brated French Buffoon; whereas the very Issue, nay he himself

proves that it did escape the Ridicule, and that the false Glory,

such as the *Pyramids* of *Egypt* and the *Colosseum*, the *Phantasm*,

as he phrases it, of the true, was the only thing affected by the

Edge of his Raillery. If the Use of Ridicule ought to be

laid aside in serious Subjects, because several have been dis-

honest enough to misuse it, the same Argument will hold

good also that the Use of Reason should be denied, because

Spinoza, *Hobbes*, and such Wretches, have notoriously mis-

apply'd it. Indeed I should not at all be surpriz'd to see in

Time an elaborate prefatory Dedication, address'd to those

who dare have the Assurance to think at all, written against

the Use of Reason, by those who have such Cause to quarrel

with it.

¹² *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

being absent, entered, as the City wanted Soldiers, into this third¹⁸ military Expedition, which being attended with the same ill

¹⁸ Socrates never went out of Attica, but in these three military Expeditions, and once to the Isthmian Games, as we learn in Plato's *Crito*, where Socrates speaking to himself, as it were in the Persons of the Laws of his Country, says, Καὶ ἐπὶ Διωρίαν πωπόσει ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξηλθὲς, ὅτι μὴ ἀπαξ εἰς Ἰθμόν, ὅτε ἀλλοσε ἐδάμοσε, εἰ μὴ ποὶ στρατεύσομενος· ὅτε ἀλλὴν ἐποίησά ποδοθημῖαν πωπόσει, ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρώποι· ἐδ' ἐπιθυμία σε ἀλλῆς πόλεως ἐδ' ἀλλῶν νόμων ἐλάβεν εἰδέναι. P. 39. Athenæus cites a detach'd Part of this Passage, to prove that Socrates was never but once out of Athens, and pretends for that Reason, that all Plato has elsewhere said of his military Expeditions must necessarily be false. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Κεῖωνι (says he) ὁ τὴν μνημοσύνην φίλος Πλάτων, ἐδὲ ποιησάδ' ὅτε ποδοθημῖαν τὸν Σωκράτην ἐξῶ τῆς εἰς Ἰθμόν πορείας εἰρήκε. Deipn. lib. 5. True, Plato does say so; but then he adds, εἰ μὴ ποὶ στρατεύσομενος. But Athenæus is guilty of a still greater Inaccuracy of Reading, concerning one of these military Expeditions; for, in order to invalidate the Testimonies of Plato, he affirms, (contrary to the Account of Diodorus Siculus, lib. 12. and Thucydides, the latter of which Authors was living at that Time) that there never was any Battle before the Siege of Potidæa, nay refers too to the very Passage in Thucydides, where that Historian gives an Account of the Action, as if he had wrote quite otherwise; ποῖα δὲ ἡ μάχης γενομένης ἐλάβε τὰ αἰετὰ Σωκράτης, ἡ τὴν πρῶτας ἐπιφανὲς ἡ δισσημὸν καθολὴ, μάχης μνημῆιας συμπεσεύσης, ὡς ἰσόρηκε Θουκυδίδης: And again he has another Fling at Plato; ἐκ ἀρχαῖαι δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ τερατολογία ὁ Πλάτων ἐπαγεί ἡ τὴν ἐπὶ Δελίῳ γενομένην, μᾶλλον δὲ πεπλάσμων ἂν ἀνδραγαθίαν. Deipn. lib. 5. I am surpriz'd how this Mistake escap'd the learned Casaubon, who has taken notice of the former, but in this agrees with his Author: "Toto eo tempore (says he) nullum memorabile prælium fuisse commissum affirmat auctor, neque nos negamus." Isa. Casaub. anim. in Athen. c. 13.

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ill Success as the second, he returned to *Athens*, where he continued till his Death, without ever removing out of the District of the City ¹⁹,

Tho'

¹⁹ *Suidas*, whose Head Monk-like being biased too much by Superstition frequently waddles obliquely to unnecessary Nonsense, observes, that all the Notions contained in *Plato*, concerning a future State of Rewards and Punishments, were borrowed from the *Egyptians*, and intimates afterwards that they received them from the Writings of *Moses*. From thence he would conclude, that the Light of Nature is insufficient to lead us to such important Truths, without supernatural Assistance immediately derived from above. This kind of Blasphemy has been too long fashionable. But what could *Suidas* himself say, or any modern *Suidas*, to this Instance of *Socrates*? who never did travel from the Place wherein he was born with a Design to be instructed in foreign Manners, never learnt the Laws or religious Secrets of other Countries, nor ever was initiated into the much-boasted Mysteries in his own. [See below Book IV.] And yet we find from undoubted Evidence, that he had a clear Notion of the *Unity* of the *DEITY*, and a Retribution to Mankind after Death, of Rewards and Punishments proportioned to their respective Virtues and Vices. But however *Suidas* (as well as several System-shackled Writers among us) is as false in his Assertion as he would be in his Conclusion. But to give the old Monk fair Play, he shall speak for himself. He says that *Plato* taught, τον μεν γδ δίκαιως τον βιον διεληλυθοπα χ' οσιως, επειδαν τελειωση, εις μακαρων νησος οικειν εν παση ευδαιμονια κακων εκτος. Τον δε αδικως χ' αθως εις τα κεισεως τε χ' δικης δεσμωθηνειον, οδη ταρλαρον καλυσιν (supposing it was adapted by Expression to vulgar Understandings) γεναι. Then comes the Sting; ταυτα δε εκ αιγυπτίων μεμαθηκε. *Suid.* in vit. *Plat.* And a little before speaking of Things which must need be above human Understanding, he says, ταυτα εοικε σεσυληκεναι εκ των θειων γερων. I warrant many a wise Noddle has been shook with triumphant Pleasure over this Passage; but unfortunately for *Suidas*, and such Admirers, *Plato* wrote several

Tho' *Socrates* glow'd with this most ardent Love for his native Country in particular, yet he did not partially confine his Regard to *Athens*, but like the Minister and Servant of the GREAT PARENT of all, extended his benevolent Concern to Mankind in general; and being once ask'd what Countryman he was, he reply'd with the greatest Energy, ²⁰ that he was a Citizen of the World. Which conclusive Apophthegm comprehended every tender Duty of Humanity, by implying that whatever our more immediate Respect may be, and indeed ought to be with proper Restrictions, first for our own Families, then Cities, Provinces, and Nations, according to that Love implanted in us by Nature, yet we should still extend our Affections with a proportionable Regulation to the whole Species, and consider ourselves (to carry on his Allusion) Fellow-citizens of one great Commonwealth, whereof God is the impartial Governor, whose divine Laws are best obey'd, when we endeavor to promote one another's Happiness

ral of his Dialogues before he ever went into *Egypt*, nay before the Death of his divine Master, which contain those Doctrines. Therefore I am afraid his Assertion stands upon as bad a Foundation as his priestly Conclusion would do, was the Fact really true.

²⁰ Cicer. *Tuscul. Quæst.* lib. 5. "Mundanium inquit. Totius enim mundi se incolam et eivem arbitrabitur."

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Happiness by reciprocal Acts of Goodness, and mutual Assistance, the Need of which he has ordain'd, by his unerring Legislation, should be an irrefragable Chain to link all Societies together.

He now continued to prosecute with greater Ardor than ever the Work he had so successfully begun, entering into all Places of public Resort, and enriching the Hearts of his Audience with the inestimable Treasure of moral Science. In this Employment he was frequently expos'd at first, on Account of some Gestures the Heat of Action caused, to the Insults of the ignorant Populace, which gave him many Opportunities to prove himself the worthy Example of his own divine Precepts ²¹. Being thus early habituated to Patience, he fortified his Soul against the sharpest Attacks of a domestic Fury, and retain'd the usual Tranquillity of his Mind, as will hereafter be observ'd, in the most violent Storms of public and private ill Treatment; for such was his Benevolence, that he never return'd Evil for Evil, having thro' the whole Course of his Life, as he declar'd himself appealing to those who knew the Truth of his Assertion ²², never hurt any Man, but endeavored

²¹ Diog. Laert.

²² Xen. Mem. lib. 4.

vored to make the whole Species his Friends by every Act of Humanity. Nor did this Patience and his remarkable Temperance in every Respect proceed from a constitutional Coldness, or any Apathy in his Disposition, (which is frequently, in Men of phlegmatic Complexions, confounded by the unthinking Vulgar with real Goodness) but from the self-governing Precepts of the most divine Philosophy; for his Courage and unalterable Resolution he made conspicuous upon all laudable Occasions; and as to his Propensity not only to enervating Pleasures but even actual Vices, he ingenuously confess'd it to a Circle of his Disciples, who laugh'd at the famous Physiognomist *Zopyrus* as a Cheat, for declaring after he had view'd the Lineaments of his Face, that he was a Fellow of the most vicious Inclinations: "I am, said he, prone to Vice as this Man says, but I correct such irregular Inclinations by Philosophy ²³."

The divine Science of Moral Philosophy began now to prevail over those ²⁴ useless Researches

²³ "De *Socrate* dicitur, Cum multa in conventu vitia collegisset in eum *Zopyrus*, qui se naturam ejusque ex forma perspicere profitebatur, derisus est a ceteris, qui illa in *Socrate* vitia non agnoscerent: ab ipso autem *Socrate* sublevatus est, cum illa sibi vitia inesse, sed ratione a se dejecta, diceret." *Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 5.*

²⁴ The Author does not mean to deery the Study of Physics in general, which properly employed, no doubt, is of

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Researches of the Study of Physics, and aerial Speculations of an absurd Theology. On this Account the Priests and Sophists finding their gainful Trades decrease, pursued *Socrates* with a Malice proportioned to the Credit he bore among the best of the People. These sacerdotal and literary Locusts had, among other Arts to divert the Attention of Mankind from the Knowledge of Truth, constantly amused their Minds with Enquiries into the inexplicable ²⁵ Laws of Nature, where the human Understanding, being plung'd into an unfathomable Deep, could never emerge into the Light of Reason.

E

Socrates

of great Service to Mankind, but only those useless Researches, as they are here term'd, in Contradistinction to other Parts of Natural Philosophy, which too often engage, even at this Day, the misapply'd Hours of several soberly disposed Modern Philosophers.

²⁵ *Sprat* in his fustian History of the Royal Society (which equal with their Taste in every other Kind of Writing, was esteemed so excellent a Composition by the Metaphor-hunting Mob of silly Witlings in *Charles* the Second's Reign) being not contented with giving the Superiority to Natural Philosophy over Moral, tells us, in Compliment, I suppose, to the prevailing Fashion of the Times, which could ill have stood the Examination of Reason, that the latter *only served to swell up the Soul*, &c. *Sprat's* Hist. of the R. Soc. The Episcopal Courtier, like the *Grecian* Priests and *Sophists*, knew that this Philosophy would have detected the Rottenness of the Age, and therefore dress'd up a Rival more agreeable to the depraved Taste of his Contemporaries, in all the affected Pride of tawdry Language.

Socrates neither discompos'd by their Calumnies, nor intimidated by their Menaces, employ'd his whole Time in the Cultivation of his own Heart and those of his Followers; confining his Contemplations altogether ²⁶ to what was pious, what impious; what just, what unjust; in which those that were learn'd be esteemed good and beautiful ²⁷, but those that were ignorant be thought might justly be called Slaves.

Being

²⁶ Αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀεὶ διελέγετο, σκοπῶν τι εὐσεβές, τι ἀσεβές· τι δίκαιον τι ἀδίκον, &c. &c. αἱ τὲς μὲν εἰδώς ηγείτο καλὴς καὶ ἀγαθὴς εἶναι, τὲς δὲ ἀγνοῦσας ἀνδραποδῶδεις ἀνδρὶ δίκαιῳ κεκληθῆναι. Xen. Mem. lib. 1.

²⁷ This Analogy between the Perfection in Nature and that in Morals, *Socrates* constantly had in View in all his Discourses, which his Disciples express'd in the compound Word καλοκαγαθία, for a proper Regulation of our Passions, or an exact Performance of those Duties which are required from the respective Station of Life we act in, to Society, answers in the Moral World to that Symmetry and Proportion which is constituted by the Agreement of particular Parts in the Natural; so that GOOD and BEAUTY may be used indiscriminately as a proper Expression for Excellence in either. Thus in *Xenophon's* Memoirs, *Socrates* more particularly dwells upon this Alliance: Σὺ δὲ οἶσι, ἔφη, ἀλλο μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο δὲ καλὸν εἶναι οὐκ οἶδ', οὔτι περὶ ταῦτα πάντα καλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶσι; πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ περὶ ἄλλα μὲν ἀγαθόν, περὶ ἄλλα δὲ καλὸν εἶναι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀνθρώποι το αὐτὸ τε καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καλοὶ καγαθοὶ λεγούσιν· περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ φαίνεσθαι περὶ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οἱ ἀνθρώποι χροῦσθαι καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ νομιζέσθαι, περὶ ἀπὲρ αὐτὸν εὐχρηστὰ ἡ. Xen. Mem. lib. 3. From this true Relish of the Soul, this harmonious Association of Ideas, the

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Being thus accustomed to the *good* and *beautiful* in Morals, he was led by an amicable Intercourse of Ideas, to look upon the Comeliness of a handsome Person as the external Mark of inward Goodness, which made itself thus visible to the Sight by the correspondent Features of an amiable Countenance * 8. He therefore gave the Preference

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rence

the ancient Philosophers, and their Disciples among the Moderns, have enliven'd their Writings by illustrating their Observation upon the Conduct of Life, by Epithets drawn from the external Scenes of the Creation. So that by a *beautiful Action*, is meant the generous Resignation of private Advantage by some Individual, to submit or adapt his single Being to the whole Community, or any Part of it he belongs to. Many modern Cavils have been made against this Style, but by such (as *Cornelius Nepos* observes upon some Cavillers in his Time) *qui expertes Græcarum literarum, nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putant.* In Præf. Such *simple-minded* Gentlemen I leave to their own profound Sagacity, to divide *Good* from *Beauty* at their Leisure.

but 20 *Maximus Tyrus* thus elegantly describes *Socrates's* virtuous and rational Love of *Alcibiades*, and others of his Disciples, in Contradistinction to that unnatural Passion with which the Ancients too often disgraced their Species: Τὸ δὲ Σωκράτους ἔρως ἦν καὶ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀνδρὶς οἰοῖς καὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν διαφέρειν, καὶ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν σωματικὴν καὶ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐστοχῶντος· ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ, ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου ἐν σώματι διαφανομένη. — Σωμάτων ὡς καὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων, ἢ μελλουσιν ἀρετῆς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ οἷον αἰσθητικὴν καλλὸς ὡραϊστέον. Dissert. 9. *Plutarch* says, *Socrates* was wont to tell young Men, that they should often regard themselves in a Looking-glass; that if they found themselves beautiful, they should take care not to stain that Beauty by Vice; and if deform'd, they should endeavor to cover their personal Imperfections by Virtue. See also *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of *Socr.*

rence to those Youths who were the most beautiful, but above all to *Alcibiades*, whom he pursued with the most indefatigable Industry, to prevent him falling into those destructive Pleasures, to which he was too much subjected by the Easiness of his Temper, and uncommon Warmth of his Constitution ²⁹. But for all this constant Attendance on that much celebrated Nobleman ³⁰, none ever accused him of having any

²⁹ There was an Institution of *Solon's* at *Athens*, which was afterwards copied by all the States of *Greece*, that every Man of experienced Wisdom and Probity should take Youths under his Care, and after having gain'd their virtuous Affections, to educate them in the Principles of Justice, Honor and Fortitude. A remarkable Instance of the mutual Friendship that subsisted between some Youths and their Instructors, was shewn in the *Theban* *ισα γαλαγξ* at the famous Battle of *Cheronea*, where a Body of three hundred were killed fighting by one another's Side. *Philip* King of *Macedon* seeing them lie dead together, said weeping, *Curs'd be they who suspect that these Men could either do or suffer any thing base*. *Plut.* in vit. *Pelop.* A generous Testimony in an Enemy of that Bravery, which was so nobly supported by virtuous Friendship! So much was this Education thought necessary among the *Greeks*, that, as *Tully* observes, *apud eos opprobrio fuit adolescentibus, si amatores non haberent*. *De Rep. lib. 4.* For *amatores* there signifies those Instructors as I have explain'd above.

³⁰ *Monf. Charpentier* is greatly mistaken when he says, "Ses ennemies se sont servis de cette apparence, pour l' accuser de corrompre la jeunesse." Who were these Enemies? none at that Time as ever I read of. "Et ceux (adds he) qui n'ont pas aimés sa memoire, les ont crus assez mal à propos." That I grant there were some in After-ages who were willing to calumniate him on this account thro' Malice,

any unnatural Affection ; for what is said of corrupting Youths in the Accusation laid by *Melitus* afterwards, was meant in another Sense, that is to say, their political and religious Principles, for he is allow'd on all Hands to be free from the least Suspicion of that most detestable Sin ; nay even ³¹ *Aristophanes* never so much as once hints at it, which he certainly would not have fail'd to have done, had there been the smallest Ground for such an Insinuation. ³² *Porphry*, who

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was

Malice, or ignorantly aspers'd him, for want of considering the Customs of *Greece*. But as this ingenious *French* Gentleman rightly observes, “ Qui pourroit en douter apres ses “ severes reprimendes qu'il fait a *Critias* et *Critobule*, au “ premier livre des choses memorables ? Qui pourroit en “ douter apres ce qui se dit sur la fin du banquet de *Platon*, “ par la bouche meme de *Alcibiade* ? ” Dans la vie *Socr.* I must here take notice, that the tenth Line of the second Satire of *Juvenal*,

Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinædo;

is certainly, as several Commentators have observ'd, a false Reading, which was occasion'd, I suppose, by the Mistake of some illiterate Transcriber, who having heard of *Socrates*'s Esteem for *Alcibiades*, which perhaps was turn'd to his Discredit at that Time, and never having met with the Story of *Sotades*, that infamous Pæderaste the *Cretan* Poet, from whose Name this Epithet is borrowed by *Juvenal*, he chang'd *Sotadicos* for *Socraticos*.

³¹ Οὐδὲ Λεϊσοφάνης τὰ Σωκράτους ἐν Διονυσίοις κωμῶδων οὐδ' ἐνοχλῶς τῶν κατηγορῶν, ἐλοιδορησάλο τῷ ἐρωτὶ τὸ Σωκράτους. Maxim. Tyr. Diff. 8.

³² It may at first sight seem strange, that *Porphry* a *Platonist* should vilify the Character of *Socrates* ; but if we regard the History of the Man and the Times, the Wonder will easily be clear'd up. This Writer liv'd about the End

was more inveterate against him than the bitterest of his Contemporaries, and who borrowed most part of his Invectives from ³³ *Aristoxenus*, *Aristotle's* Disciple, a professed Enemy of the *Academy*, never so much as doubted of the Innocency of *Socrates* in this Respect with the Youths who frequented his Discourses. The Silence therefore of such implacable Enemies concerning so atrocious a Crime, must necessarily acquit him without farther Testimony.

Whilst

of the third Century. He was educated under *Plotinus* and *Amelius*; but after the Death of the former he turned *Christian*, and according to the Custom of the charitable Writers in that and the succeeding Centuries, who thought that they serv'd the Cause of Religion when they blasphem'd their Maker by depreciating human Reason, he courteously fell into the Fashion, and among the Lives of other Philosophers, which he wrote during his Stay in the Church, he selected out that of *Socrates* to spend his Gall on; but not meeting with the Encouragement he expected, he apostatiz'd, and wrote fifteen Books against the Truth of the *Christian* Religion.

³³ 'Tis no wonder a Man of *Aristoxenus's* Disposition should calumniate *Socrates*; for he even abused his own Master and greatest Friend *Aristotle* after he was dead, because he nominated *Theophrastus* for his Successor in the School. We have the following mangled Account of this Counter Philosopher in *Suidas*: *Αειδοξένος υἱὸς Μνησίου, ἀκροῖς τε τῶν παλαιοῦν καὶ λαμπρῶν τε εὐθεταῖν, εἰς τὰ Ξενοφίλου τε Πυθαγορείου, καὶ τέλος Αειδοξέου, εἰς οὐκ ἀποθανοῦσα ὕβρισι, διότι καταλιπεῖς ὅλης διαδοχὸν Θεοφράστου, αὐτὸν δοξάζαν μεγάλην ἐν τοῖς ἀρεταῖς τε Αειδοξέου ἐχοντος.* How a Man of such an envious, malignant, ungrateful Temper can be relied upon, I leave the impartial Reader to judge.

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Whilst *Socrates* was engaged in this God-like Office of weeding out Vice from the Hearts of Mankind, in whatever Shape it appeared, ere it had taken too deep a Root ; he found nothing was so great a Bane to growing Virtue, nothing so great an Obstruction to heroic Pursuits, and fair Desires, as that pleasurable Indolence to which the Breasts of Youths are too much inclin'd. He consider'd *Pleasure* as a *Syren*, which deluded those who listen'd to her Lore into a voluntary Destruction ; that however for a while she might seem lovely by her enchanting Smiles to the deceived Senses, she was always in the End the deformed Ministress of *Disease*, *Infamy*, and *Woe* ; but that *Virtue* never fail'd to lead her Votaries to Happiness, thro' the Paths of honorable Toil and Industry. These moral Truths he inculcated with the most lively Descriptions, and Ambition-exciting Examples ; for unadorned Precepts have been known to avail little, when the pious Fraud of a well-told Fable has imperceptibly led Men into a Pursuit of their Duty. In a Conversation with his libertine Disciple *Aristippus*, a profess'd Votary of *Pleasure*, who spent, or more properly suffered his silken Hours in the most Heart-enslaving Recreations, when he had argumentatively proved the superior Excellence of Virtue, he concluded his Exhortations to the Pursuit of it with this beautiful

Fable, where *Virtue* is personaliz'd, and
 brought into a Contest with her *mental* An-
 tagonist. "*Prodicus*, says he, (for the Fic-
 tion is attributed to him) " in his Book about
 "*Hercules*, says, that that Hero, as he was
 " just arriv'd at the State of Maturity, (when
 " Youths becoming free to act for them-
 " selves, discover their Propensity either to
 " good or bad, and indicate what may be
 " expected from their future Conduct) being
 " retired into a solitary Place, and contem-
 " plating on what Course of Life to pursue,
 " two Women of an uncommon Stature
 " approach'd him. The one of a liberal
 " and amiable Aspect, whose Body was
 " adorn'd with natural Comeliness, her Eyes
 " with Modesty, and her Gesture with
 " Decency; whose Raiment was all of
 " White: The other seem'd pamper'd by
 " Ease and Luxury into an unbecoming
 " Size and Softness; she had painted her
 " Complexion to make it look more beau-
 " tiful, and affected a Form more grace-
 " ful than what was given her by Nature;
 " her Eyes were full of Confidence, and
 " her Dress transparent, that the conceit-
 " ed Beauty of her Person might appear
 " through it to Advantage; she seem'd
 " often to contemplate upon her own
 " Perfections, she watch'd to see if others
 " regarded them too, and would frequent-
 " ly look back upon her own Shadow.
 " When

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“ When they were both come nearer to
 “ *Hercules*, the first describ'd continued
 “ her usual Pace; but the other being de-
 “ sirous to speak first, ran eagerly up, and
 “ address'd herself to him in the following
 “ Manner: “ I perceive, my dear *Hercules*,
 “ that you are in doubt what Course of
 “ Life to pursue; if you will contract a
 “ Friendship with me, I will lead you
 “ thro' the most pleasurable and easy Road,
 “ where you shall taste all the Sweets of
 “ Life, and live exempt from every Trou-
 “ ble. In the first place, you shall neither
 “ be concern'd in War, nor in the Affairs
 “ of the World, nor have any other Em-
 “ ployment, but to find out whatever is
 “ most delicious to gratify all the Senses;
 “ to chuse what Amours are most delight-
 “ ful to you, how you may repose with
 “ the greatest Tranquility, and how you
 “ may come to the Possession of all with
 “ the least Fatigue. Nor be in the least
 “ afraid, if at any time there should be a
 “ Chance of a Deficiency of these Things,
 “ that I will exercise the Faculties of your
 “ Mind and Body in tedious Labors to
 “ acquire them; for you shall freely enjoy
 “ all from the Work of others, nor abstain
 “ from any thing which can be delightful:
 “ for I put it in the Power of my Vo-
 “ taries, to partake of every Satisfaction the
 “ World affords.” When *Hercules* had
 “ heard

“ heard the Conclusion of this Harangue,
 “ he ask’d what was the Name she went
 “ by; to which she reply’d, “ My Friends
 “ and Votaries call me *Happiness*, but mine
 “ Enemies caluminate me with the Name
 “ of *Voluptia* ³⁴.” In the mean time the
 “ other Woman approached, and in her
 “ Turn accosted him in this manner: “ I
 “ come too, O *Hercules*, to offer my Af-
 “ sistance, I who am well acquainted with
 “ your divine Extraction, and have ob-
 “ served the Excellence of your Nature
 “ even from your Childhood; from which
 “ I have Reason to hope, that, if you
 “ will follow the Path which leads to my
 “ Residence, you’ll undertake the greatest
 “ Enterprizes, and atchieve the most glo-
 “ rious Actions, and that I shall thereby
 “ become more honorable and illustrious
 “ among Mortals. However I won’t de-
 “ lude you with flattering Proems of what
 “ only is agreeable, but inform you with
 “ the strictest Truth, how the *Gods* have
 “ disposed these Things. The *Gods* have
 “ ordained that Mankind should not enjoy
 “ any thing that is good and honorable
 “ without

³⁴ As the Word *Kakia* in this Place is relative, the Au-
 thor thought a literal Translation would be defective, and the
 common ones inexpressive; he therefore chose this Word, as
 more comprehensive of *Xenophon's* Meaning.

“ without Care and Labor; therefore if
 “ you are willing that they should be pro-
 “ pitious to you, 'tis your Interest to wor-
 “ ship and obey them, in like manner as
 “ you would do every Act of Kindness for
 “ your Friends, if you are desirous they
 “ should love you; or, as you would be
 “ useful to any City from whence you are
 “ ambitious of receiving Honors. So if
 “ you wish to be highly respected thro' all
 “ Greece on account of your Virtues, you
 “ should endeavor to atchieve something
 “ for the Good of the whole Community.
 “ If you desire to gather plentifully the
 “ Fruits of the Earth, the Soil must be
 “ cultivated accordingly; would you grow
 “ rich by your Herds? a proper Care must
 “ be taken of them; would you extend
 “ your Dominions by Arms, and be ren-
 “ dered capable of setting at Liberty your
 “ captive Friends, and bringing your Ene-
 “ mies to Subjection? you must learn of
 “ those that are experienced in the Art
 “ of War, and exercise yourself in the Use
 “ of military Affairs; and if you would
 “ excel in the Strength of your Body, you
 “ ought to habituate your Limbs to Toil,
 “ and all Sorts of Gymnastic Perfor-
 “ mances.” Then *Volupia* interrupting (as
 “ *Prodicus* tells the Story) cry'd out, “ Do
 “ you see, my dear *Hercules*, thro' what
 “ long and difficult Ways this Woman
 “ would

“ would lead you to her promised De-
“ lights, but I will conduct you thro’ one,
“ which is short and pleasant, to the most
“ exquisite Happiness.” To which *Virtue*
“ reply’d, “ Alas! poor Wretch, what Good
“ hast thou to boast of? or what Happiness
“ knowest thou, who dost nothing to ac-
“ quire it? thou, who dost not wait for
“ an Appetite to those Things which are
“ pleasant, but art satiated with all before
“ thou hast a Desire to partake of any;
“ who eatest unexcited by Hunger, and
“ drinkest uncompelled by Thirst; and
“ that thou mayest satisfy thy Palate more
“ deliciously, thou procurest the most able
“ Banquet-mongers to prepare thy Viands,
“ purchasest the most costly Wine, and
“ searchest every Place for Ice and Snow,
“ luxuriously to cool it in the Heat of
“ the Summer. Thou art not satisfy’d to
“ rest upon Beds of Down, but preparest
“ the softest Couches and Pillows to sooth
“ thy pleasurable Repose; for thou sleep-
“ est, not because the Body requires Re-
“ freshment from Fatigue, but because
“ thou hast nothing else to do but to doze
“ away thy vacant Hours. Thou excitest
“ by forcible Means venereal Desires, and
“ gratifyest them in the most beastly and
“ unnatural Embraces. Thou teachest thy
“ Votaries to pass the Night in scandalous
“ Riots, and to snore away the most use-
“ ful

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“ ful Part of the Day in drowſy Inacti-
“ vity. Tho’ immortal, thou art an Out-
“ caſt from the *Gods*, and deſpis’d by the
“ good among Mortals. Thou never haſt
“ partook of the moſt agreeable of Sounds,
“ that of hearing thyſelf commended ; nor
“ ſeen the moſt delightful of Objects, thy
“ own good Works ; for thou never haſt
“ done ought to claim that Appellation.
“ Who can believe any thing thou ſay’ſt ?
“ who would aſſiſt thee in Neceſſity ? or
“ would any one in his Senſes dare to
“ enter into thy Society ? Thoſe that are
“ ſo unhappy to belong to thee, are de-
“ bilitated in their Bodies whiſt they are
“ young, and in the Faculties of their
“ Soul when they are old ; their Youth
“ having been diſſipated in an unmanly
“ Indolence, their Age is over-burthen’d
“ with a wretched Uneaſineſs and Trou-
“ ble. They are aſham’d of their paſt
“ Actions, and afflicted with their preſent ;
“ having wantonly conſumed all the Sweets
“ of Life in the Beginning of it, and re-
“ ſerv’d nought but Miſery for the latter
“ End. But I, on the contrary, keep
“ Company with the *Gods*, and am con-
“ ſtantly preſent with all good Men ; no
“ fair Action, either divine or human, is
“ atchieved without me. I am honor’d
“ by thoſe that know me both among *Gods*
“ and

“ and Men above all Things. To Artists
“ I am the much-belov’d Associate in their
“ Professions ; to Masters of Families, a
“ faithful Guardian in their Houses ; to
“ Servants, a kind Protectress. I am a
“ happy Assistant in Affairs of Peace, a
“ steady Ally in the Dangers of War, and
“ the best Companion to all public and
“ private Friendships. My Votaries too
“ have as pleasing Enjoyments in their
“ Repasts, for they wait till Appetite urges
“ them to satisfy their Hunger and Thirst.
“ Their Sleep is much sweeter than the
“ Sleep of the Indolent ; and yet they
“ neither regret to leave it, nor, for the
“ sake of it, omit the necessary Duties of
“ Life. Whilst young, they are encour-
“ aged by the Praises of the Aged ; and
“ when old, pleased with the Honors paid
“ them by Youth. They retain a satis-
“ factory Remembrance of past Actions,
“ and enjoy the Practice of the present ;
“ for they are upon my Account dear to
“ the Gods, beloved by their Friends, and
“ highly honor’d by their Country ; and
“ when the destin’d End of Life approach-
“ es, their Names are not dishonorably
“ cast into Oblivion, but flourish for ever
“ in the Memory of applauding Posterity.
“ Thus, *Hercules*, O great Descendent of
“ divine Ancestors, thou may’st by virtu-
“ ous

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"ous Toil and Industry acquire this most
"desireable State of perfect Happiness."

³⁵ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. This Fable has been a Model for several beautiful Imitations, particularly *Cebes's Table of human Life*, and the Judgment of *Scipio* in the fifteenth Book of *Silius Italicus*. See the Poem upon this Subject in Mr. Spence's *Polymetis*.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.



THE

BOOK II. SOCIETIES.

THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF THE AFRICAN.

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L. G. Boniard Jr. del. & sculp. THE

L I F E

OF

S O C R A T E S.

B O O K III.

SOCRATES was now arrived at the Pinnacle of all rational Ambition; he had borne Arms with immortal Honor to himself in the Service of his Country, even in Expeditions where his Country was unsuccessful; the Innocence of his Heart had frustrated the Malice of his own Enemies, and the Clearness of his Mind had defeated the Enemies of the human Understanding.

derstanding¹. He was a living Reproof to the Bad, and a copy'd Delight of the Good; the Wifest rever'd him, the most Powerful honor'd him, and the Richest grew poor in their own Imagination, when they observ'd how he abounded in what Wealth^a could never bestow, amidst voluntary Poverty. He was even ador'd by some, caress'd by many, and admir'd by all Men. Yet even thus elevated above the common Lot of Humanity, the least Tincture of Avarice or Pride could never gain Admittance to his Breast;

¹ He had confounded the Sophists in several Disputes, as we find in *Plato*, particularly in those Dialogues entitl'd, the *Sophist*, *Euthydemus*, *Gorgias*, *Hippias*, and *Protagoras*.

² *Apuleius* giving a beautiful Summary of what alone ought to be esteem'd among Men, brings this Instance of *Socrates*, who though poor was Possessor of all Things which could properly be call'd good. "In hominibus contemplandis noli aliena æstimare, sed ipsum hominem penitus confididera, ipsum ut meum *Socratem* specta. Aliena autem voco quæ parentes pepererunt, et quæ fortuna largita est. Quorum nihil laudibus *Socrates* mei admisceo; nullam generositatem, nullam profapiam, nullos longos natales, nullas invidiosas divitias. Hæc enim cuncta ut dico, aliena sunt. Generosus est? parentes laudas. Dives est? non credo fortunæ. Validus est? ægritudine fatigabitur. Pernix est? abibit in senectutem. Formosus est? expecta paulisper, et non erit. At enim bonis artibus doctus et apprime est eruditus, et quantum licet homini sapiens, et boni consultus, tandem aliquando ipsum virum laudas. Hoc enim non a patre hereditarium est, nec casu pendulum, nec a suffragio anniculum, nec a corpore caducum, nec ab ætate mutabile, hæc omnia meus *Socrates* habuit, et cetera contempsit." *Apul. de deo Socr.*

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Breast; for he neither would accept of any ³ lucrative Employment in the State, nor the frequently-offer'd Presents of his Disciples ⁴; and on the other hand, when thro' the Indigence of his Circumstances he wanted the Necessaries of Life, he did not disdain, like a surly *Cynic*, to give his Friends an Opportunity of supplying those Wants, by freely communicating his Distresses to them. Nor above all, did the Superiority of his Understanding inspire him with that Arrogance, too commonly found among those on whom Heaven has bestowed its choicest Blessings. For when the Oracle ⁵ of *Apollo* had declared him the

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wisest

³ Plat. Apol. p. 25.

⁴ *Ælian*. var. hist. lib. 9. cap. 29. *Diog. Laert.* in vit. *Socr.* *Senec.* de benef. lib. 5. c. 6. *Stob.* ferm. 3.

⁵ 'Twill be asked how the Priests came to declare *Socrates* the wisest of all Mankind, when he was so great an Enemy to the Impostures of the Priesthood. The Story, as related in *Plato's* Apology p. 16. runs thus: *Chærephon*, a zealous Friend and Disciple of *Socrates*, being at *Delphi*, enquired of the Oracle whether there was any Man upon Earth wiser than he was. The Reply was, No, not one. An Answer of this sort, no doubt, from an Oracle of the highest Repute in all *Greece*, must necessarily give great Credit, and consequently Power, to *Socrates*; which at first Appearance would seem very impolitic in the Priests to do, when that very Power would be exerted against themselves. But if we search more narrowly into the Cause of this Proceeding, we shall find that the Design was very artful. They had hitherto engag'd all the Poets and Philosophers in their Service, by bestowing Employments both in the State and in the Temple upon them: but when they found all such Temp-
tations

wisest Man upon Earth, he thus modestly interpreted the Meaning: "The Reason
 " why I was thus mentioned, said he, was
 " to propose my Name as an Example; as
 " if the Oracle had said, he is the wisest
 " Man, who, like *Socrates*, disclaims all
 " Wisdom."

Thus notwithstanding this Oracular Applause of his Wisdom, notwithstanding Multitudes followed him for Instruction, he invariably persisted in denying he knew any thing, and always had this Expression
 in

tations ineffectually exerted in regard to *Socrates*, they had recourse to Flattery, which has prevail'd even against the best and wisest, when every other Method has been abortive. But finding this Scheme as unsuccessful as all others to seduce him, and not being able to recant what was once declared from the Tripod, they persecuted him to his Grave under the coercive Laws of establish'd Error, with all the holy Malignancy of misplac'd Zeal. Monsieur *Charpentier* absurdly imagines, that the Managers of the Oracle had a real Esteem for *Socrates*. He gravely says: "Des qualities si
 " extraordinaires furent causes que l'Oracle d'*Apollon* pro-
 " nonça, que *Socrate* étoit le plus sage de toutes les hommes,
 " et par ce glorieux temoignage sembla rendre a sa vertu
 " l'honneur qu'elle pouvoit meriter." Dans la vie de *Socr.*

⁶ *Tully* speaking of his great Modesty says: "Hic in
 " omnibus fere sermonibus qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt,
 " perscripti varie et copiose sunt, ita disputat ut nihil affirmet
 " ipse, refellat alios, nihil se scire dicat id ipsum: eoque
 " præstare cæteris, quod illi, quæ nesciant scire se putent,
 " ipse se nihil scire, id unum sciat, ab eamque rem se arbi-
 " trari ab *Apolline* omnium sapientissimum esse dictum quod
 " hæc esset una hominis sapientia, non arbitrari se scire quod
 " nesciat." Acad. quæst. lib. 1.

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in his Mouth, that he was sure only he knew one Thing, which was that he knew nothing. He spoke in this manner to confound the Pride of those, who boasted they were Masters of those Sciences they were intirely ignorant of, and which it was impossible for the human Understanding to acquire. But should any one infer from hence, that *Socrates* was willing to introduce Uncertainty into all manner of Questions in the Reach of our Comprehensions, and such as the great Creator intended as a proper Exercise for the Faculties of our Minds; should any one pretend that this great Discoverer of Truth deny'd an absolute Knowledge of the Existence of a God, his invariable Laws of Right and Wrong, of the determined Bounds of Justice and Injustice, of the moral Necessity of the Rewards of Virtue, and the self-inflicted Punishments on Vice, and of all the eternally-fix'd and immutable Rules that regard the Happiness of Man as a free Agent, should any one, I say, absurdly and stubbornly draw from hence such false Inferences, he would either prove himself altogether ignorant of the Tenets of this divine Philosopher and his Followers, or a

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System.

² Plat in Apol. Diog. in vit. Soc r.

System-blinded Disputant on Words, whose Implication he is determined to pervert to the Use of his own bigot-befotted Opinions^b.

But

^b The Author of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, having taken it into his Head to look with a retrospective Frown of Jealousy on the ancient Sages of *Academy*, has thought it highly incumbent upon him on all Occasions to rake into the Ashes of these illustrious Dead, who were a justly-esteem'd Glory and Honor to our Species. Being therefore, according to his usual Charity, about to calumniate the Virtue and Knowledge of these Godlike Men, he makes a bungling Conveyance upon the Reader, and in the following Words shews the middle *Academics* for the first, and the Principles of *Arcefilas* for those of *Plato*. "This, says he, I take to be the true Key to the Intrigues of the *Academy*, [vide *Div. Leg.* p. 354.] of which famous Sect many have been betray'd into a better Opinion than was fitting; if any Doubt remain, the Account *Tully* himself gives of these People, will remove it. He who knew them best, and espoused only the more reasonable Part of their Conduct, tells us, that they held nothing could be known, or so much as perceived." Now would not any Man expect a Citation from *Tully*, to prove that the original Disciples of *Socrates* contradicted every thing, and indiscriminately deny'd the Knowledge or Perception of any thing whatsoever? No, 'tis quite a foreign Affair; he gives us a Citation from the *Academic Questions*, to prove what was the Conduct of the sceptical Followers of *Arcefilas*: "Nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt.——Itaque *Arcefilas* negabat esse quidquam quod sciri posset, ne illud quidem ipsum." This is Scepticism with a Vengeance! He afterwards subjoins in a Note *Lucian's* Opinion of the same People, who he informs us knew them as well as any Body. "This Writer, adds he, when he speaks of the happy Island in his true History, tells us how it was stock'd with the several Sects of Greek Philosophers. But when he comes to the *Academics*, he with high Honor informs us, that tho' they were in as good a Disposition to come as any of the

rest,

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But above all Things, *Socrates* was most averſe to aſſuming the Air or Name of a Preceptor. Thus when *Demonicus* ⁹ an *Athenian* brought his Son *Theages* to be inſtructed in Wiſdom, after having rallied

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him

“ reſt, they ſtill kept aloof in the Conſines, and would never
 “ venture to ſet a Foot on the Iſland. For here truly they
 “ ſtuck; they were not yet ſatisfy’d whether it was indeed
 “ an Iſland or no; *τὴς δὲ Ακαδημαϊκῆς, εἰλεγὸν εὐελπεῖν*
 “ *μὲν εἶναι, ἐπεχεν δ’ ἐτι, καὶ διασκεπτεῖται μὴ δὲ καὶ*
 “ *αὐτὸ τὸ πῶς καὶ λαμβανεῖν εἰ καὶ Νησὸς τις τοιαύτη*
 “ *ἔστιν.*” Ver. Hiſt. lib. 2. And who were thoſe *Academics*
 ſo prone ΔΙΑΣΚΕΠΤΕΣΘΑΙ? Why truly thoſe who liv’d
 in the Time of *Lucian*. And here lies the Juggle in the
 Word *Academics*, by indifcriminately confounding the three
 different Schools under that general Denomination. I am
 afraid therefore this great Myſtagogue, who has found a *Key*
 to the *Intrigues of the Academy*, has (to carry on his own
 beautiful Metaphor) miſtaken the Door, or deſignedly led
 his Initiates into a wrong Apartment. For if he’ll believe
 an Evidence of his own bringing, *Tully*, who certainly was
 acquainted with the Sentiments of all the different Sects, will
 rectify his Error: “ *Quorum e numero [i. e. Sceptic. omin.*
philos. vide ſupra in Acad. qu.] “ tollendus eſt et Plato et
“ Socrates: alter quia reliquit perfectiſſimam diſciplinam,
“ Peripateticos et Academicos, nominibus differentes, re con-
“ gruentes. Socrates autem, &c.” Acad. quaſt. lib. 4.
 But however Mr. *Warburton* choſe to ſet this aſide, together
 with other innumerable Paſſages in *Tully*, *Xenophon*, and
Plato himſelf, and by a new-invented Figure of his own
 Rhetoric call’d *Confuſion*, which join’d with another of the
 ſame Origin call’d *Diviſion*, has been us’d by him with aſto-
 niſhing Succeſs in all his late Controverſies; the ingenious
 Contrivance above is a great Inſtance of the Force of the
 firſt Figure; and a poſitive Denial that *Answerers by Profes-*
ſion, and the *venerable Gentlemen of the long Robe*, were
 Names ever intended for the ſame People, is a convincing
 Proof of the Efficacy of the laſt new Figure.

⁹ Plat. Theag.

him by that beautiful Irony, which he used so often, upon the absurd Custom of the *Grecians* of running after the *Sophists*, who profess'd to teach Wisdom, and having in the same Strain recommended *Gorgias*, *Polus*, and others, "From among these, " says he, you should chuse a Preceptor for " your Son; but to call me to that Office " is by no means proper." But *Theages* still persisting in his Request, and declaring that several of his Acquaintance had become wise by his Precepts, who before were rather remarkable for their Want of Prudence, *Socrates* ask'd him if he knew what that Wisdom was, to which the young Man answering in the Affirmative; "No, " my Friend, reply'd he, you are deceiv'd; " but I will tell you what it really is. " There has attended me from my Childhood, by a particular Favor of Providence, an inward Spirit, which, when " it calls upon me, dissuades ¹⁰ me from " the Thing I am about to do, but never " persuades me to any thing." This internal

¹⁰ *Tully* too observes, that this internal Impulse (which he justly translates *aliquid divinum* indefinitely, for he understood it as *Socrates* meant it, something which forebodes as we say in *English*) was always dehortative: " *Aliquid divinum, quod Socrates Dæmonium appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti, sæpe revocanti.*" *Cicer. de Div.*

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ternal Impulse of the Soul attended him thro' Life, which (not to regard it in a superstitious Light, but as the Acquisition of a superior Understanding by Observation on the Causes of human Events) never fail'd in its almost prophetic Dehortations; several Instances of which are mentioned in the same Dialogue, after the Words above cited by himself, and in his Apology before the Judges. But as this divine Voice, or Dæmon, as it is figuratively called, had made many imagine (who have regarded it as a real Spirit, thro' the gloomy Twilight of a dull Understanding) that *Socrates* intended to impose upon the *Athenians* ¹¹, as other
Impostors

¹¹ I am greatly surpriz'd how so candid an Author as *Rollin* should accuse *Socrates* of an Imposture, who very well knew that he never made use of those common Deceits of Priests and Statesmen, to raise his own Reputation with the People: "Je pense en meme tems, says he, qu'il n'étoit pas fâché de laisser croire au peuple que c'étoit en effet une divinité, de quelque genre qu'elle fut, que l'inspiroit et lui decouvroit l'avenir. Cette opinion pouvoit, le relever beaucoup dans l'Esprit des *Atheniens*, et lui donnoit une autorité dont on fait que les plus grands hommes du paganisme; [then he gives us in a List of Lawgivers who made use of Impostures] "etoient fort jaloux, et qu'ils tachoient de se procurer par des communications secretes, et des entretiens pretendus avec quelque divinité." *Hist. anc. vol. 4.* How contrary was such a Proceeding to the whole Life of our Philosopher! which was spent not in inculcating but eradicating all Superstition from the human Mind; * otherwise he might easily have pretended to the Gift of Prophecy, from many Things which came to pass to
countenance

Impostors frequently have done upon the Ignorant, by a Pretence of having an Intercourse with supernatural Agents, I think it necessary before I proceed, to clear up this Point, and shew by incontestable Proof what was meant by that Expression.

Various are the Opinions of ancient Writers concerning this *Dæmon*, (for we find that he constantly obeyed the divine Call, as it is term'd, both relating to himself and his Friends, not only in indifferent Affairs, but in those of the greatest Consequence, nay even where his own Life was concern'd, as I shall observe in a proper Place ¹²) some will have it that it was a real Vision ¹³ which frequently appear'd to him; some that it was an Imposture ¹⁴; some that it was only the superintending Genius ¹⁵ which attends every Man from his

countenance his Predictions. Vide Cic. de Div. Plut. de Dæm. Socr. Plut. in Theag. et in Apol.

¹² Vide infra Book IV.

¹³ Plut. de Dæm. Socr.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ 'Twas an Opinion held by many of the Ancients, that every Man at his Birth had a *Dæmon* or *superintending Genius* born with him, or assigned by Providence to conduct him thro' Life; and this *Genius* too was represented as a good Being, as we may learn from this Fragment of *Menander*,

Ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαίσι δαί
Εὐθὺς ἡγομένη, μυσταγωγὸς τε βίῃ
Ἀγαθός

The

BOOK III. SOCRATES. 91

his Birth to his Death, and was stronger in him than the rest of Mankind; and others, that it was an immediate Intelligence¹⁶ or Inspiration

The Word *μυσαγωγος* is beautifully apply'd in this Place; for being allusive to the Office of the Priest who led the Initiates into the sacred Myſteries at *Eleuſis*, it heightens the Conceit, by metaphorically representing Life as a Myſtery, which required ſuch an Attendaht to conduct it thro' its Ambages. The *Stoics* imagined that this *Dæmon* was Part of the *Anima Mundi* diſcerp'd for a while from that *all-inſpiring Being*. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, the Royal Philoſopher, ſays in the Language of that Sect, that thoſe Men are truly ſaid to live with the Gods, who obey the inward Dictates of this *Dæmon*. Συζη δε θεοις ο συνεχως δαιμων αυτοις την εαυτη ψυχην αρεσκομηνεν μεν τοις απονεμομωμοις, ποιουσιν δε οσα βυλεσαι ο δαιμων, ον εκασω παρτασιν η ηγομωα ο Zeus εδωκεν, αποπασμα εαυτη υπος δε εστιν ο εκασω Νης η λογος. *Marc. Aur. Med. lib. 5. sect. 27.* The good Emperor, tho' his Notions were erroneous in regard to the Manner of the Exiſtence of the *Deity*, thought more worthily of his Diſpoſition than ſeveral, who, unworthily ſheltering themſelves under the Name of *Chriſtians*, have been guilty of the groſſeſt Blaſphemy. This honeſt Heathen believ'd, that the SUPREME BEING had endowed Men with a Soul ſo naturally good, that if we attended to its inward Impulſe, would by that iſtantaneous Perception of what was *right, juſt, and beautiful*, lead us to Happineſs; for as a celebrated *Platonist* obſerves, *Eſt mentibus hominum veri boni naturaliter inſerta cupiditas*, then ſubjoins, to reconcile the too common Practice of the World, which ſeems contrary to his Obſervation at firſt ſight, *ſed ad falſa devius error abducit.* *Boet. de Conſol. Phil. lib. 3.*

¹⁶ *Plutarch* introduces *Simmius* giving this Account of it in his Treatiſe concerning the *Dæmon* of *Socrates*; and indeed this Function of the Soul may, agreeable even to the Principles of Natural Religion, be eſteemed an Intelligence or Inſpiration from Heaven; but this muſt be conſidered *mediately*, and not *immediately*; and in that Caſe *Socrates* was indubitably inſpired by God himſelf. For the great CREATOR of the

Inspiration from Heaven : but the Truth is, that it was nothing more than that inward Feeling inseparable from the Hearts of all good and wise Men, which (excited at first by probable Conjectures of future Events, collected from a retrospective View of the past, and a Consideration of the invariable Connection of human Contingencies) works itself by Degrees even into our Constitution, and gives the Breast an almost prophetic Sensation of what ought to be done, before the slower Faculties of the Mind can prove the moral Rectitude of the Conduct. Such then, and no other; was what has absurdly been called the *Familiar* of *Socrates*, and was regarded in no other Light by *Xenophon* and *Plato*, his Disciples and Contemporaries : for the Soul of Man was frequently by the Ancients philosophically and figuratively called a *Dæmon*¹⁷, and those were said to be

the Universe did from the first interweave in our human Frames, Organs and Faculties for such Sensations, whose Powers were proportion'd to our Virtue and Wisdom. *Socrates* therefore, who was the perfectest Man of his Time, had, by a Moral and Physical Necessity, a more lively Feeling of this kind than the rest of his Species.

¹⁷ This Language is explain'd thus by *Aristotle* : Ετι το επιχειρειν μεταφερειν τα τενομα κ' τον λογον, ως μαλιστα προσωπων εκλαμβανειν, η ως κειται τενομα' οια ευψυχον, μη τον ανδρειον, καθαπερ κειται, δηα τον ευ την ψυχην εχοντα' ομοιως δε κ' ευδαιμονα, εαν ο δαιμων η αυδαιος. καθαπερ ο *Χενοκρατης* φησιν ευδαιμονα ειναι τον την ψυχην

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be possessed with a good *Dæmon*, or to be *well-spirited*, whose Souls were fraught with Wisdom and Virtue.

This then certainly was the Meaning of *Socrates*; for on one hand, if he had had Fanaticism enough to have believ'd he really did see a Vision, he not only would have desisted from ridiculing such Superstition in others, but would have communicated to his Friends how, when, and where it appeared to him; and on the other hand, which is the only Alternative for Objection, if he had design'd to play the Impostor, he undoubtedly would have made use of the Number of Occurrences which fell out in his Favor, and the fond Credulity of the People, then prepared for the Reception of such Pretences. His Conduct however, we find,

Ψυχὴν ἐχόντα ἀπεδαιν ταντὴν ὅδε καὶ εἶναι δαίμονα.
Arist. Top. lib. 2. c. 6. Thus *Virgil*, regarding the inward Impulse of the Soul as the Call of a God, makes *Nisus* thus accost *Euryalus*;

Diine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt

Euryale? an sua cuique Deus sit, dira Cupido? *Æn.* lib. 9.
Apuleius, the most learned Platonist of his Time, says:
“ Bona Cupido animi bonus Deus est. Unde nonnulli arbitrantur, ut jam prius dictum est *ευδαίμονας* dici beatos, quorum *Dæmon* bonus, id est, animus virtute perfectus est: quem nostra lingua, ut ego interpretor, haud sciam an bono, certo quidem meo periculo poteris *Genium* vocare: quod is Deus qui est animus sui cuique, quanquam sit immortalis, tamen quodammodo cum homine gignitur.”
Apul. de Deo Socr.

find, was different in both Cases; for he was too wise a Man to be imposed on that way himself, and too good a one to impose upon others¹⁸; besides these already mentioned, one irrefragable Argument remains, to prove that this much talk'd of Prescience was the Effect of a more refin'd Virtue and Prudence, which inspir'd his Heart with a more ardent Fire than those of others, that were clogg'd with the foul Dregs of earthly Concupiscence; which is this: When he declar'd in the public Court at his Tryal, that his *Dæmon*¹⁹, as he commonly call'd it, had not given him any Sign that Day to desist from undertaking his Defence and standing to the Issue, which it never fail'd to

¹⁸ *Monf. Voltaire* says, with his usual Confidence, speaking of the human Soul, which he knew nothing of: "Le *Demon de Socrate* lui avoit appris sans doute ce qui en étoit. "Il y a des gens à la vérité qui prétendent qu'un homme qui se vantoit d'avoir un Génie familier, étoit indubitablement un fou ou un fripon, mais ces gens-là sont trop difficiles." Dans les *mel. de Phil. et de Lit.* With this ignorant ironical Sneer he would insinuate, that *Socrates* was either Knave or Fool; for his Argument reduced to a serious Syllogism runs thus: He who boasts of having a *Familiar* is either Knave or Fool; *Socrates* boasted of having a *Familiar*, therefore he was one or the other. His Major is certainly true; but Ignorance benighting his Understanding, when he came to his Minor, this *Gallic* Genius was misled by the *Ignis fatuus* of a pert Vivacity, and bemoir'd in a false Conclusion. A Mishap which unletter'd Wits are too often subject to.

¹⁹ *Plat. et Xenoph. Apol.*

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to do when he was about to do any thing wrong ; and when he speaks to the Judges again of this *Dæmon*, as of a Thing they had frequently heard him mention, not one of his Accusers took notice of it, or made it a *particular* Part of his Charge, (tho' indeed in the Apprehensions of the Vulgar, it came under the *general* Accusation, to which he made a proper Answer adapted to their Capacities) which they inevitably must have done, had it been regarded by them to have contained any supernatural Pretensions. 'Tis true, *Xenophon* says, a Tumult immediately ran thro' the Croud, upon his declaring that he never was mistaken in what he predicted from the Movements of this *Dæmon*²⁰, some not believing what he said, (those were the Vulgar and Illiterate who misunderstood him) and some, envying that he should be more esteem'd by the Gods than themselves, (those were his Persecutors the Priests) whose jealous Spirit of holy Malice had dragg'd him to that Tribunal, where he still kept his usual Resolution in detecting their gainful Frauds ; “ For, said he, (alluding to that foolish Superstition of Augury) “ I call this in-
“ ward

²⁰ Επει δε ταυτα ακουσαι οι δικασαι εθορυζουσι, οι μω
απισουσαις τοις λεγομενοις, οι δε η φθονουσαις, ει η
παρὰ θεων μειζονων η αυτοι τυχεροι. Xen. Apol.

ward Spirit a *Dæmon*, and think in saying so, that I speak more truly and piously, than those who place the Power of the *Gods* (i. e. the Indication of their Will) in Birds ²¹." So much I thought necessary to explain concerning the *Dæmon* of our Philosopher, (as I shall have occasion to mention it hereafter) in order to confute those many Absurdities entertain'd about it, which were first spawn'd from the muddy Head of Heathen Sophists, and since fondly foster'd by the Ignorance-nursing Care of some of the Fathers. Now to proceed.

About the Age of fifty *Socrates* married a Woman of the most turbulent Disposition, named *Xantippe*, which was the only ²² Wife he ever had. This Woman (I shall pass

²¹ Εγὼ δὲ τὸ Δαίμονιον καλῶ, καὶ οἶμαι ἕως ονομαζὼν καὶ ἀληθεύειν καὶ οὐ ψεύδειν. λέγειν τῶν τοῖς ὀρνίσις ἀνατιθεμένων τὴν τῶν θεῶν δυνάμιν. Xen. Apol. He subjoins, that he had another Argument for the superior Truth of this *Dæmon*, as he call'd it, which was, that it never ly'd; thereby insinuating, by way of Distinction, a very unwelcome Truth, that *their* pretended Predictions frequently proved false. This roused the Swarm of Sacerdotal Hornets; for it is very well known, that, in the Intercommunity of Pagan Worship, tho' every State would tolerate, nay sometimes adopt new Matters of Faith, yet they could never bear to have the least Part of the old called in Question.

²² Many Authors will have it, that he had two Wives at once, which ill-grounded Notion shall be confuted in the proper Place, [vide infra Book V] and seem to imagine too that he was married immediately after the first military Expedition at

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pass over the many trifling Stories told of her malignant Temper, to avoid Prolixity) made his Home, which to others is a sweet Asylum from the Fatigues of Life, one continued Scene of Disturbance, and the noisy Den of Strife and Confusion ; yet she could never, as she frequently declared herself with Vexation, ruffle the calm Temper of her patient Husband ; who being ask'd how he came to chuse a Woman of her disagreeable and outrageous Behaviour, made Answer, that he did it for the same Reason, as *those Men who are desirous to be skill'd in Horsemanship, procure not those Horses that are most easy to be manag'd, but such as are most fiery and high spirit-ed* ²³.

Thus Afflictions surrounded him on all Sides, as if Patience had made his Breast

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at *Potidea* ; and this in all Probability is as erroneous as the other ; for had he been married immediately after the Plague that happen'd then, as they affirm he was, which was about the thirty-ninth of his Age, his Children, or some of them, would have in all Likelihood been full grown at his Death more than thirty Years after ; but we find by *Plato*, that they were then all under Age, for he calls them *παιδια*. [vide *Plat. Phæd.* p. 86.] Two of them, says he, were young, and one pretty big, *μεγας* ; which makes it probable, supposing him to be about seventeen or eighteen, that *Socrates* was married about fifty.

²³ *Οτι, εφη, ορω η ιππικες βελονες γενεσθαι, & τας ευπειθεσας, αλλα τας θυμωδεις ιππας κωλινους.*
Xen. Conv.

the Place of her Security, and they had besieged there this amiable Virtue. But in spight of the strongest Attacks of Calamity, *Socrates* triumph'd over every Assault; and tho' Happiness was driven from the public Assemblies of the People by Anarchy, from Religion and Philosophy by Superstition and Sophistry, from Society by an almost general Corruption of Manners, and lastly, from the last Recess of Comfort, his Home, by domestic Troubles; yet retiring into himself, he found Happiness in his own Soul, protected by the parental Care of Peace and Innocence. On account of this great Depravity of Morals, he never would accept of any Employment; and tho' by the political Constitution of his Country every Man had a Right to give his Opinion in the public Convocations, yet he constantly avoided the Meetings, till he was elected, after he was more than threescore Years of Age, to represent his own Ward in the general Senate. This Senate ²⁴ was composed of five hundred Members, and was called, by way of Distinction from the rest, the Senate of *five hundred*. Every Citizen, of what Rank soever, past thirty Years of Age, was qualify'd to have a Seat in it, where they

²⁴ Vide Sigon. de Repub. Athen. et Sam. Petit. Leges Attic. lib. 3.

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they continued after the Time of Election but for one Year, at the End of which the Senate was dissolved, and fresh Members were chosen: And in this it differed from that of *Areopagus*, which lasted for Life. The Manner of Election was this: All the People of *Athens* were divided into ten Tribes or Wards, every one of which sent fifty of its own Body into the Senate, who were chosen by Lot in their respective Wards; the Names of the Candidates being written upon thin Pieces of Brass, were put into one Vase, and the same Number of Beans ²⁵ into another, fifty of which were white and all the rest black; at the same time as the Name of a Citizen was drawn out of one Vessel, a Bean was taken out of another, and those who casually came up with the white were elected Senators. All the Affairs of the Republic pass'd thro' this Senate, they regulated every thing belonging to the public Buildings, Streets, Arsenals and Temples; they managed the Finances, declared War, made Peace, and examined all Articles and Proposals relating to Government before they were laid before the general Assemblies of the People; each Tribe in its Turn managed

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nag'd

²⁵ For this Reason they were frequently called *λευκοί*
αρχόντες.

nag'd the whole Business, one alone having for five Weeks the sole Direction of Affairs, after which another succeeded and officiated for the same Time, and so a third, till it had gone thro' all the ten. These Senators whilst they were in Office were called *Prytanes*, among whom ten presided, whose Power lasted for a Week, and then devolv'd upon ten others, till it had been exercis'd by the whole Tribe. Out of these ten Presidents one was elected call'd the *Epistate*, who held his Office only for one Day, and that but once in his Life, it being prohibited to be oftener, on account of the great Importance of the Charge; for this President over all, kept the Keys of the Fortrefs, the public Treasure, nay, by the Nature of his Office, the Safety of the whole Republic in his Hands. *Socrates* being elected into this Senate, became in his Turn *Epistate*; and tho' his Aukwardness in the common Ceremonies of State gave his Collegues an Opportunity ²⁶ to jest upon him, yet an Affair of the highest

²⁶ He describes himself in this Situation: Περὺσι βουλευειν λαχων επειδαν η φυλη επρυσανεν, κ' εδει με επιψηφισειν, γελωια παρειχον, κ' εκ επιταμ'ω επιψηφισειν.—And again, *Cassicles* in the same Dialogue persuading him to frequent the public Assemblies of the People, tells him, that he was so ignorant of judicial Pleadings and Proceedings, that if he was accused he would not know

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est Importance coming before the Senate whilst his Tribe presided, he gave a most remarkable Instance of Wisdom, Courage, and Integrity, by magnanimously hazarding his own Life, to protect the Lives of the Innocent, against the outrageous Menaces of a Superstition-deluded Multitude. The Affair was this ²⁷: After the Battle at the *Arginusian* Islands, in which the *Athenians* gain'd a signal Victory over the *Lacedæmonians*, the Commanders of the Fleet being prevented by a Storm from burying the Dead, they were, for that undesign'd and unavoidable Omission, upon their Return to *Athens*, instead of receiving the grateful Acclamations of Joy from their Country, which they had so bravely defended, brought before a Priest-govern'd Tribunal of titular Justice, try'd, condemn'd, sentenc'd, and put to an ignominious Death. The Burial of the Dead has in all Ages, Countries, and Religions, been justly regarded as an Act of Piety; and the first *Egyptian* Legislators (from whom the *Grecians* borrowed almost all their religious Customs and Ceremonies)

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in

know how to defend himself: Νυν ὅστις σε λαβόμενος
 ἐς τὸ δέσμῳ ληγεῖον ἀπαγοί, φασκὼν ἀδικεῖν, μηδὲν ἀδ-
 ικῆσαι, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἂν εἴχῃς οὐ τι χρῆσθαι σωτῆρι, &c.
 Plat. Gorg.

²⁷ For a full Account of this Engagement, vide Xen.
 Græc. Hist. lib. 1. et Diod. Sicul. lib. 13.

in order to enforce the Performance of this Duty, wisely inculcated a Notion into the Minds of the People, that a religious Observance of this Ceremony was not only laid by the Gods as an indispensable Charge upon the surviving Friends of the Dead, but was also necessary too to the future Happiness of the Defunct themselves ²⁸. The

Athenian

²⁸ Allusive to this Notion, *Virgil* describes those, whose Bodies were still unburied, restlessly wandering about the Banks of *Styx* :

Hæc æmnis, quem cernis, inops, inbumataque turba,

— Hi quos vehebat unda, sepulti.

Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluentia

Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt,

Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum,

Tum demum admissi, stagna exoptata revisunt. *Æn.* lib. 6.

Mr. Warburton, who supposes the whole sixth Book of the *Æneid* to be a Description of the *Eleusian* Mysteries, (which Thought, wrong as it is, by the Bye, tho' he lets it pass for his own, was borrowed, or more properly stolen, from a *French* Romance, entitled, *The Life of Setbos*) gives a very cold Reason for the Invention of this Doctrine. After having properly enough observed, that the Inculcation of it was one of the wisest Contrivances of ancient Legislation, and that it was originally *Egyptian*: "These profound Masters of Wisdom, adds he, in contriving for the Safety of their Fellow Citizens, found nothing would contribute more to it than the public and solemn Interment of the Dead; for without this Provision, private Murders might be easily and securely perpetrated. They therefore introduced the Custom of the most public and most pompous funeral Rites." Here he seems to think the Prevention of private Murders to be the only Intention of the *Egyptian* Legislators in the Institution of pompous funeral Rites; and the Act of Sepulture itself to be the sole End of one of the wisest Contrivances of ancient Legislation. No doubt, th
Prevent

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Athenian Multitude, ignorant of the Rise and End of this sacerdotal Policy, and in-

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toxicated

Prevention of private Murders might be one Motive, tho' a secondary one, for such Institutions, as well as the Act of Sepulture is in itself decent, necessary, and pious; but these pompous Rites, as well as the traditional Superstition which supported them, had a higher Design. The primary Motive for these truly wise Contrivances, was to prevent Vice and Immoralities of all Kinds; and by the most affecting of public Examples, to induce the good to a constant Perseverance in Virtue, and to deter the impious from their wicked Practices; which was executed in the following Manner. 'Twas a Custom among the *Egyptians*, before they interred their Dead, to canvas over the Actions of the Deceased, and to bring their whole past Life to a Tryal before Judges appointed for that Purpose. Those who upon a fair and impartial Examination were found to have liv'd a virtuous and good Life, were dismiss'd from the Tribunal with Praises proportionable to their Merit, recommended as worthy Examples to Posterity, and assign'd over to the Society of the Blessed in the Shades below; but others, in whose Characters Vice and Mischief were predominant, were publicly branded with Infamy, and assign'd over to the Regions of Affliction. [Diod. Sicul.] As every one was convinc'd that he should undergo this impartial Tryal after Death, wherein his former Abilities, Power, and Fortune, could avail nothing, nor avert a proper and just Sentence, such Examples were powerful Checks to Vice, and pleasing Incentives to Virtue. The Legislators having by Practice found their End in this Institution, enforc'd the Observance of it by the Superstition already mentioned, that those whose Bodies were unburied, should wander in a State of Restlessness a *hundred Years* on the Banks of the River *Styx*. Now this was invented to obviate by Terror the clandestine Interment of those whom the surviving Parents or Relations were afraid to bring to this Test of Justice, being desirous to shelter the Memory of the Deceased from Ignominy by an Omission of this Ceremony. The public Interment of the Body being first insisted upon, only as concomitant to the Rites, and by Corruption afterwards

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toxicated with Fancies, founded upon the
Letter of those sacred Legends, and not
 distinguishing

made a necessary Part of them. But then as this restless Wandering was Punishment inflicted for the Neglect of this Office, why were these [supposed wicked] Souls to wander only a hundred Years, and then be permitted to pass the River?

Centum annos errant, volitantque hæc littora circum,

Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.

At the first view a Continuation of the Punishment would seem more consistent with the Design of the Legislators, and the Perpetuity of it more deter the surviving Friends from trespassing on their Decrees. 'Twas in this first superficial View alone that Mr. *Warburton* regarded it; for not searching to the Bottom, he took it for an Inconsistency; and therefore not knowing how to solve it, pass'd over these Lines in Silence, which he certainly would not have done in that Parade of Explication, if he had understood them. But in this seeming Contradiction the Legislators compleated their Scheme, by inculcating, that after this previous Punishment the Wicked (i. e. those who were supposed to be so, not undergoing the usual sepulchral Tryal) should not thus escape the Miseries of the Damned; for tho' they might evade per chance human Laws, yet they should inevitably at length (tho' after that above mentioned Punishment for the Evasion of human Laws) be brought to a severe Tryal in the Regions below, before those divine Judges whose Power none can evade, and meet with a Sentence due to their Crimes. Otherwise it would have been a kind of Relief to those who had been remarkably vicious and Monsters of Impiety, to have escaped *Tartarean* Punishments for those of so much milder a nature; therefore

Demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt,

in order to be examined by the Infernal Judges, and allotted their proper Stations. 'Twas the Word *exoptata* perhaps that puzzled Mr. *Warburton*; he thought it was us'd absolutely, as if *exoptabilia*, which indeed might puzzle a more sharp-sighted Critic than himself to make Sense of. But *exoptata*, tho' an Epithet to *stagna*, is used here relatively to the

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distinguishing betwixt an unavoidable Omif-
fion and a wilful Neglect, raised the most
implacable Clamor on this Account against
these unfortunate Patriots, whom they er-
roneously supposed to be the Authors of
the Misery inflicted on their deceased Friends
and Relations who fell in the Battle, and
never ceas'd to prosecute their religious Re-
venge, till they had bath'd their Hands like
Parricides in the Blood of those, who had
so nobly shed Part of it before in the filial
Defence of their Country. Such is the ir-
resistible Force of Superstition, which era-
dicates from the Breast every benevolent
Principle of Humanity, and like a Sorce-
ress having enchanted the Optics of Reason,
converts Cruelty, and every monstrous Phan-
tom of a distemper'd Brain, into the inviting
Forms of the most sacred Duty!

When these Victims to barbarous En-
thusiasm were brought to their Tryal, and
indicted

the wandering Ghosts, as if it had been *admissi exoptantes
stagna revivunt*, who being tir'd with their uncertain restless
Condition, and *hoping* to find Ease in a Change, *wish'd* to
pass the River. If the Reason for wandering on the Banks
of the River *Styx*, only for a *hundred Years*, is regarded as
above explain'd, 'tis so far from being contradictory to the
general Design of the Institution, that it is the very Comple-
tion of it.

²⁹ Both sacred and prophane Histories abound with num-
berless Instances; such were the human Sacrifices to *Moloch*,
the Vow of *Idomeneus*, the intended Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*,
and many others.

indicted according to Form by the venal Orators who were hired for that Purpose, all the Senators were so intimidated by the Cries of the People, that not only those who thro' Ignorance joined in the Prosecution, but even the others who tacitly disapprov'd of the inhuman Proceeding, were compell'd thro' Fear to give their Voice for the Execution of these brave unhappy Men, *Socrates* only excepted³⁰, who resolutely persisted in the Defence of their Innocence, and refused to the last to join in the popular Suffrage, chusing rather, as we are told by his faithful Disciple, to withstand the Threats of the most powerful Men in the Republic, than break his Senatorial Oath by acting contrary to Reason and Justice. However, notwithstanding his Influence as the best of Men, and his Power as a chief Magistrate, notwithstanding

³⁰ Οι δε Πρύτανες φοβηθέντες ομολογούν πάντες περ-
θῆσθαι πλὴν Σωκράτους τε Σωφρονίσκου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκ τῆς
ἀλλ' ἢ χρεῖ νομὸν ποίησεν. Xen. Græc. Hist. lib. 1.

Βαλευσας ὃς καὶ τὸν Βαλευϊκὸν ὀρκὸν ὁμοσας, ἐν ᾧ ὡς,
χρεῖ τὸς νόμους βαλευσῆν, Ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἡγεμόνος,
ἐπιθυμησάτος τε δήμου παρὰ τὸς νόμους ἐννεα στρατηγὸς
μία ψήφῳ, τὸς ἀμφὶ Θρασυλὸν καὶ Ἐρασιπιδὴν, ἀποκτείναι
πάντας, ἐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφισαί. ὀργίζοντες μὲν αὐτῷ
τε δήμῳ, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνάτων ἀπειλητῶν ἀλλὰ πείρει
μὲν πλείονος ἐποίησατο εὐοργεῖν, ἢ χλευσάσθαι τῷ δήμῳ
παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ φυλαξάσθαι τὸς ἀπειλήτας. Xen.
Mem. lib. 1.

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ing the Voice of Nature and Innocence pleading for the Accused, notwithstanding the Republic at that Time stood in need of such experienc'd, brave, and vigilant Commanders, the idle Notions of false Zeal prevailed over all these Considerations, cast the greatest Infamy on the State by so cruel and unnatural a Sacrifice, and depriv'd it at once of its last remaining military Ornaments and Protection. This the *Athenians* too soon experienc'd; for their Forces being thus weaken'd by the irreparable Loss of their Generals, were the Year after attacked by Surprize by *Lysander* the *Lacedæmonian* General, when almost all their Ships were destroyed, and some thousand Men killed and taken Prisoners. *Lysander*, flush'd with this Success, immediately proceeded to *Athens* without Interruption, and laid Siege to the City with a great Fleet by Sea, whilst another Army did the same by Land, under Command of the Kings of *Sparta*. The *Athenians* thus surrounded by Sea and Land, depriv'd of Succour and destitute of all manner of Provision, were obliged to solicit humbly Peace of their Enemies, which they had so often refus'd with Disdain, and submit to the Discretion of the Victors. Upon this the *Peloponnesian* Allies entered into Council, to consider in what manner they should treat the Vanquished. Some were for proceeding with the utmost Rigor,
and

and gave their Voices for putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and laying the City itself in Ruins to the very Foundation³¹; but others urging how much the *Athenians* had formerly contributed to the general Safety of *Greece*, Mercy prevail'd, and they were contented to demolish the Fortifications only. But a little Time after fresh Tumults arising among the Citizens about the Magistracy, *Lysander* took that Opportunity of changing the Form of Government, abolished the *Democracy*, and established an *Oligarchy* composed of thirty Men³², who were justly branded by all Posterity with the Name of the *Thirty Tyrants*. The City was never so miserable as under the Administration of these Monsters of Impiety, whose Reign was one continued Scene of Rapines, Proscriptions, private Murders, and public Massacres. *Socrates* had the Mortification to see *Critias*, who had

³¹ *Xenophon* informs us, that they were the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* who were for totally destroying the City; but that the *Lacedæmonians*, conformable to their usual Bravery and Generosity, over-ruled so cruel and ungrateful a Sentence. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦγον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνέλεγον Κορινθιοὶ καὶ Θέβαιοι μάλιστα, μὴ σπενδεῖσθαι ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. Λακεδæμονιοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πολλὴν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδεῖν, μέγα ἀγαθὸν ὀργασαμένῳ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις, χινδύοις ἡμετέροις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, &c. Xen. Gr. Hist. lib. 1.*

³² *Plut.* in vit. *Lysand.* et *Diod. Sicul.* lib. 14.

had formerly been one of his Disciples, at the Head of this detestable Number, from whom he might reasonably have expected better Treatment than he experienced; but having upon a certain Occasion reprehended him for his brutal and unnatural Lusts, this apostate Tyrant retained the Rebuke in his Mind; and one of the first Acts of his illicit Power was to interdict the public teaching of Philosophy, thereby to prevent his Godlike Master from propagating the Love of (what must necessarily have been so destructive to his vicious Designs) true Wisdom and Virtue. *Socrates* however, being not in the least ³³ intimidated by the Prohibition of Tyrants, and despising the Institutions of such, which were enacted not only against the Laws of Nature, but against those of his Country too, persisted, with the most magnanimous Resolution, even

³³ Thus he acted up to the Character which *Horace*, in the warmest Fit of poetical Enthusiasm, gives of a just Man. One would almost imagine that the *Roman* Poet had copied the following Draught from this great Original:

*Iustum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.*

lib. 3. od. 3.

The two first Verses being, as it were, descriptive of his honest Resolution in the Senate at the Condemnation of the Generals, and the last of his noble and unshaken Contempt of *Critias*, the first Man in the Tyranny.

even amidst daily Assassinations and Executions, in the Vindication of the public Rights of Mankind, and in constant Exhortations to his Fellow Citizens, to encourage them to attempt the Recovery of their ancient Virtue, and its never-failing Attendant, Liberty. Nevertheless, tho' he so often hazarded ³⁴ his Life in Opposition

³⁴ This remarkable Instance of his brave Contempt of the unjust Commands of the Tyrants, is mentioned in *Plato's Apology*. The thirty Tyrants, being desirous to give a Sanction to one of their cruel Proceedings, sent for *Socrates*, with fourteen others, and commanded them to bring *Leon* from *Salamina* to put him to Death. The others who were charg'd with the Commission, executed it according to Orders; but *Socrates* refused, and chose rather to run the Hazard of suffering himself an unjust Death, than be instrumental in that of another. *Diodorus Siculus* relates in his 14th Book, that *Theramenes*, one of the thirty, being convicted by *Critias* and the rest, on account of his Dissention and Disapprobation of their Villainies, and being drag'd from an Altar where he had fled for Refuge, *Socrates* and two others his Friends were the only People, out of an innumerable Multitude, who had the Courage to endeavor to make a Rescue; and would not have desisted from the generous Attempt, tho' surrounded by the Guards of the Tyrants, if he had not been dissuaded by the earnest Prayers and Intreaties of *Theramenes* himself. *Plutarch*, in his Lives of the ten Orators, tells this Story of *Isocrates*. *Monf. Amyot*, from Similitude of Names would correct the Reading, and put *Socrates*, to reconcile the two Authors: But this is still making a greater Mistake: For *Plutarch* could never put *Socrates* among the ten Orators, especially under that very Head where he treats of *Isocrates* the Orator. This certainly was an Error of *Plutarch's* own, who perhaps having seen this Account in some unfair Copy of *Diodorus*, was deceiv'd in the Trace of the Letters, and took *Isocrates* for

BOOK III. SOCRATES. III

tion to the Tyranny, his Enemies, as will be observed in the proper Place, took Advantage of that Circumstance of *Critias's* being once his Pupil, and instill'd a Notion (the most absurd as well as false) into the Minds of the People, that this bloody and vile Disposition of *Critias* was the Effect of *Socrates's* Instructions.

This Oligarchy however did not continue long; for the People being at length enrag'd at these repeated Acts of Cruelty, took up Arms in their own Defence, expell'd the Tyrants, and in the first considerable Skirmish killed ³⁵ *Critias* and *Hippomachus*, two principal Leaders of the Thirty. About this Time the Kings of *Sparta* growing jealous of the increasing Power and Reputation of *Lysander* ³⁶, *Pausanias* one of the Kings march'd at the Head of a superior Army into *Attica*, under Pretence of assisting the Aristocratic Power against the People; where having gained

for *Socrates*. *Diodorus Siculus* mentions one Circumstance which is a Confirmation he meant and wrote *Socrates*; which is this: He says that the Fortitude of *Theramenes* proceeded from the Philosophy he had learnt of *Socrates*; and this he tells us in the very Place where he relates this Generosity of his great Master: Ο μὲν Θεραμένης εφερε γενναίως τὴν αὐτοχρίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ πλεον μὲτεργήκως παρὰ Σωκράτους. *Diod. Sic. lib. 14.*

³⁵ Xenoph. Græc. Hist. lib. 2. et *Diod. Sic. lib. 14.*

³⁶ *Plut. in vit. Lysan. Diod. Sic. lib. 14.*

gained proper Footing, he artfully undermined all the Designs of that General, by bringing the *Athenians* into Amity with one another, and restoring the ancient Form of Government, which the Pride of *Lysander* had so lately abrogated. Thus far we have conducted our Philosopher, crown'd with spotless Honor, Virtue and Wisdom, thro' all the various Scenes of Life, acting always in that just Observance of Proportion, which it is every Man's Duty to regard in his respective Station to compose the moral Harmony of civil Society, and endeavoring to persuade and induce others to do so too by his own divine Precepts and Example; at the same time removing all Obstacles to his godlike Design, by dispelling the Gloom of Superstition, bringing *Philosophy* from her uncertain Employment in the dark Caverns and inexplicable Labyrinths of Nature, and introducing her into the chearful Ways of Men³⁷; defend-
ing

³⁷ *Socrates*, as I have already observed, [Book I. Note ¹⁶] was the first who *altogether* apply'd the Speculations of Philosophy to the Actions of Men, whom all the succeeding Moralists regarded as the Father of Wisdom. *Boethius* gives us the following elegant Picture of *Philosophy*, in both her Employments Physical and Moral, from which an Inference may be drawn of his Preference of the latter.
 " Mulier reverendi admodum vultus, oculis ardentibus, et
 " ultra communem hominum valentiam perspicacibus, colore
 " vivido, atque inexhausti vigoris, quamvis ita ævi plena
 " foret

BOOK III. SOCRATES. 113

ing his Country and protecting and saving his Fellow Citizens, by resolutely exposing his Life in Fields of Battle abroad, and stemming the two different Torrents of popular and tyrannic Fury at home; we come now to that glorious Conclusion, wherein, after having signaliz'd his invariable Obedience

“ foret, ut nullo modo nostræ crederetur ætatis : Statura
 “ discretionis ambiguae, nam nunc quidem ad communem
 “ sese hominum mensuram cohibebat, nunc vero pulsare
 “ cœlum summi verticis cacumine videbatur. Quæ cum
 “ caput altius extulisset, ipsum etiam cœlum penetrabat re-
 “ spicientiumque hominum frustrabatur intuitum. Vestes
 “ erant tenuissimis filis, subtili artificio indissolabilique ma-
 “ teria perfectæ, quas uti post eadem prodente cognovi, suis
 “ manibus ipsa texuerat, harum in extremo margine Π, in
 “ supremo vero Θ legebatur intextum. Atque inter utras-
 “ que literas, in scalarum modum, gradus quidam insigniti
 “ videbantur, quibus ab inferiore ad superius elementum
 “ esset adscensus. Eandem tamen vestem violentorum quo-
 “ rundam sciderant manus, et particulas, quas quisque po-
 “ tuit, abstulerant.” Boeth. ad Consol. Philos. lib. 1. The
 Letter Θ, interwoven in the uppermost part of her Robe,
 and consequently about the Breast, the commonly-reputed
 Seat of the Soul, signifies *Θωρεα*, *Contemplation*; and the
 Letter Π at the Bottom of it, which is supposed to be
 about the Feet, *Πεζεις*, *Action*: This Part therefore of the
 Description evidently relates to Morals, as that other Part,
cum caput altius extulisset, ipsum etiam cœlum penetrabat re-
spicientiumque hominum frustrabatur intuitum, does to Physics
 and Metaphysics. That Sentence, *eandem tamen vestem vio-*
lentorum quorundam sciderant manus et particulas, quas quisque
potuit, abstulerant, alludes to the different Sects of Philoso-
 phers who dogmatiz'd, but more particularly the *Stoics* and
Epicureans, who (as he a little after describes them in the
 same figurative Stile) on account of some Parts of the Rai-
 ment which they had torn off by Force, boasted of being
 the Intimates of Philosophy.

dience to the great CREATOR of all Things by the strictest Performance of all Moral Duties, he compleated the Commission of Heaven, by sealing with his Blood the Testimony he bore to the all-perfect Attributes of the DEITY, and the *Unity* of his undivided Being.

The End of the **THIRD BOOK.**



THE



L. P. Boitard Inc. & Sculp.

THE
L I F E
O F
SOCRATES.
BOOK IV.

THE Thirty Tyrants being now expell'd, and the ancient Form of Government restor'd in the Republic, the long-concerted Conspiracies which had been made against *Socrates* by the *Priests*, *Sophists*, *venal Magistrates*, *Poets*, and *Orators*, were again renewed under the Management of three Men, whose Names will be branded with indelible Infamy to all

Posterity; which were, *Anytus*, *Melitus*, and *Lycon*. These Men having (with a Malignity inseparable from such an Action) undertaken his Prosecution, took Advantage of that universal Detestation, which the late Miseries had rais'd among the *Athenians*, against the Administration of the *Thirty Tyrants*, and invidiously spread a false Report by their Agents, that *Socrates* had instructed *Critias*¹, their principal Oppressor, in all those Arts of Tyranny which he had so lately exerted with such unheard-of Cruelty against them. One would imagine, that as *Socrates* had so strenuously opposed this Monster of Impiety, and had undergone those apparent Dangers, as I have already related, in Defence of his bleeding Country, that such a conspicuous Falshood would never have gained Credit, especially among so discerning a People as the *Athenians*: but whoever has attentively considered the Mutability of popular Favor, the fond Credulity, easy-receiv'd Prejudices, and ever-changing Opinion of that Word-govern'd Herd the silly-minded Multitude, which

¹ *Critias* had formerly in his Youth frequented the Discourses of *Socrates*, but being reproved by his divine Master for vicious Inclinations, [vide *Xen. Mem. lib. 1.*] he apostatiz'd and left him.

² Book III. and *ibid.* Note 33.

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 117

which catches indiscriminately any Rumor either false or true, and spreads it like an Infection from Man to Man till the Contagion becomes general; I say, whoever has considered this unfortunate Disposition of the Dregs of our Species, will never be surpriz'd that any Falshood, howsoever impossible it may seem, should be receiv'd by that many-headed Monster the People, for ever prepar'd, with open-mouth'd Expectation, to swallow every thing new and extraordinary. The Conspirators having found the desired Effect in this Story, invented another, which tho' equally false as the first, had at least a greater Appearance of Probability.

Alcibiades (who, as was observ'd above³, greatly delighted in the Doctrine of *Socrates*, however contrary his Life was frequently to these divine Precepts of Temperance, Chastity, and other Moral Virtues) having with a Rout of his Companions some Years before defac'd the public Statues of *Mercury*, and in a Mock Show acted over the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, for which he had himself been formerly cited to appear before a Court

H 3

of

³ See above Book I. Vide Plutar. in vit. Alcib.

⁴ The *Herald* was represented by one *Theodorus*, the *Torch-bearer* by *Polition*, and the *High Priest* by *Alcibiades* himself. Vide Plut. invit. Alcibiad.

of Justice, and for which Offence he was obliged to leave his Country and fly to *Sparta*; the Enemies of *Socrates* took this Opportunity to revive afresh the Remembrance of this Disgrace, that had been so long ago offered to these great *Deities*, and to attribute those wild Actions of Debauchery to the Effect which his Discourses and Innovations in Religion had had upon the Mind of that young Nobleman and his Fellows. This was bringing the Argument home to the very Bosoms of those, who very justly may be called the Mob, let their Rank or Station of Life be what it will; this was at once lifting the Swarm of Bigots and Devotees from all Quarters into their Party. But how contrary was this to the Instructions he constantly gave his Disciples, and to his own Conduct! who, tho' he tacitly disapproved of the erroneous Worship of his Countrymen, and strove by all lawful Means to divert them from their abominable Idolatries, he always regarded so much the Laws, and the Peace of Society dependent upon the Execution of them, that we find he was ever so far from openly interrupting their religious Ceremonies^s, that he would frequently with the greatest

^s See above Book I. and Xen. Mem. passim. There is a remarkable Instance in the *Phædrus* of Plato, of *Socrates's* Caution

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greatest good Humor join externally in established Customs, as he very well knew that Opinion can be conquered only by Reason, and not by the boisterous Means of Force and Violence. Another Reason why *Socrates* did not oppose the Forms of these Institutions, was, perhaps, because he wisely look'd back upon their original Design, and regarded them justly in that *allegorical* Light which was the real Intention of the Inventers of them ⁶. And here it becomes ne-

H 4

cessary

Caution to avoid giving Offence to weak Consciences: The Philosopher is describ'd walking with *Phædrus* upon the Banks of the River *Ilyssus*, where the Discourse leading them to speak of a religious Tradition about *Orithya*, the Daughter of *Erechtheus* King of *Athens*, upon whom *Boreas* was said to have committed a Rape, as she was playing in that Place, *Socrates*, tho' he ingeniously explains the Foundation of the Fable in this manner, Σοφίζομαι πως αὐτῷ πνεῦμα Βορέα καὶ τῶν πλεονέκτων πείρων σὺν φαρμακείᾳ παίζουσαν ὥσαι καὶ ἔτι δὴ τελευτήσασαν, λεχθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Βορέα ἀναρπάξον γεγενεῖναι, ἢ ἐξ Αἰὲος παύει, [Plat. Phæd.] yet he avoids expatiating farther upon these Legends, by this beautiful Excuse and Observation, ἐμοὶ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἡδαιμῶς ἐστὶ χολή. Το δὲ αἰτίον, ὦ φίλη, τέτρε ποδὲς ἔδιδωκεναι πῶ καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν γράμμα γινώσκω ἐμαυτὸν ὀλιγοῖον δὴ μοι φαίνεται, τέτρε ἐστὶ ἀγνοῦντα τὰ ἀλλοτρία σκοπεῖν. Plat. Phæd. p. 1211. Edit. Ficin.

⁶ Mr. *Warburton* in his *Divine Legation*, p. 338, speaking of the Allegory of ancient Fables, (under which all Moral and Divine Truths were represented by the *Egyptians*, from whom, as I am going to observe, the *Greeks* borrowed almost all their *Theology*, *Mythology*, and religious Rites, &c.) says, "The Philosophers, I persuade myself, invented and "revived this way of Interpretation, as at two different "Times, so on two different Occasions. 1. The ancient

1

"Greek

cessary to give a short Account of the Rise and Decline of the Religion of *Athens*.

The

"Greek Poets, the Repertories of Pagan Mythology, were
 "in the Number of their most reverenc'd Divines, and the
 "Writings of *Homer* a kind of sacred Scripture: so that
 "the Absurdity of the *Letter* beginning, as the Times grew
 "polite and inquisitive, to abate the popular Veneration for
 "them: the Philosophers, who thought the public Wor-
 "ship concern'd in their Support, *invented* this Method to
 "cover and secure their Reputation. 2. What these began
 "for the sake of their Theologers, their Successors conti-
 "nued for the sake of their Theology. For when the Pro-
 "pagators of Christianity set up, exposing the Absurdities of
 "vulgar Paganism, these Defenders of it seiz'd the way of Al-
 "legory to cover it from Ignominy.--The Opinion of the Ori-
 "gin of Fables, which supposes them the Corruption of Civil
 "History, [*he should have said, and of that only*] and con-
 "sequently having their Foundation in real Facts, is un-
 "questionably true." I think I never met in two Para-
 graphs so many Contradictions to Truth, and the Voice of
 all Antiquity. He says the *Philosophers* [i. e. the *Greek*]
 INVENTED the allegorical Interpretations of the Fables, which
 were founded on real Facts, and afterwards reviv'd it to
 cover the Pagan Worship from Infamy. Now 'tis observ'd
 by all ancient Authors in general, and agreed to by all Mo-
 derns except himself, that all the *Grecian Theology* was bor-
 rowed at first from the *Egyptians*, as *Proclus* in particular,
 that most learned and consummate Commentator upon *Plato*,
 testifies; who speaks of it as a Fact universally acknow-
 ledged, and never so much as doubted of till his Time:
*απαντα γδ η παρ' Ελλησι θεολογια της ορφικης μυθα-
 γωγιας εκγονος*. Procl. in Pl. Th. c. v. *Herodotus* confirms
 this; for speaking of *Melampus*, who introduced the Wor-
 ship of *Bacchus* into Greece from *Egypt*, he adds, *Σχεδον
 κ' παντα τα νομαλια των θεων εξ Αιγυπτου εληλυθε ες την
 Ελλάδα*. Herod. Euterp. So his Assertion of its being oc-
 casionally invented by the *Greeks* is apparently false; and his
 Account of the Origin is not better grounded: for tho'
 some Theological Fables indeed might be the Corruption of
 true

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 121

The *Grecians* in the first Ages, like other Nations before they were civiliz'd, worshiped those Objects that were most apparently beneficial to them, such as the Sun, Moon, Stars, the four Elements, &c. ⁷ but *Orpheus* and others of their *Legislators* and *Priests* travelling into *Egypt*, were initiated into the sacred Mysteries celebrated in that Country, and upon their Return home introduced the *Egyptian Mythology* into *Greece*, and instituted Mysteries there in Imitation of

true History, yet the *Generality* of them were the *Inventions* of *Egyptian Legislators, Priests, and Mystagogues*, who, according to the Genius of their Country, conceal'd all Moral and Divine Truths under those fictitious Images; as may be seen at large in all the Ancients, who are unanimous upon this Subject. Nay, even those Mythological Stories, which were in some measure grounded upon real Facts, were no otherwise adopted into their Theology than as Vehicles of hierarchical Knowledge, and not corrupted by *Chance*, but by *Design*, in order to bring them into such Shape, as was altogether subservient to their Religion and Politics. Thus metamorphos'd, they became as much the Repositories of mystical Science as the very invented Fables themselves. What Mr. *Warburton* is endeavouring to prove is this: *That the Pagan Theology was compos'd of an indigested Heap of idle Legends, casually thrown together without any Design or Meaning; till those who lived by the gainful Trade of Priestcraft, were necessitated, in more discerning Ages, to allegorize them, as well as they could, into Systems of Theology and Morality.* But let me ask him then, how came these Systems so regular, and to depend like a Chain one upon another? Sure he won't allow it to be a Miracle, for that would be giving a Sanction to Paganism; and it can be solv'd no other way by his Hypothesis.

⁷ Vide Platonis *Cratylum*.

of those they had seen in that Mother Land of *Gentile Theology*. This Religion analys'd into its first Principle, and abstracted from the Legends and Fables in which it is envelop'd, was the Worship of ONE *uncreated* GOD, whom they looked upon to be the CREATOR of all Things, who was from and would remain in the same State to Eternity; omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, all-perfect; governing the Universe in the purest Spirit of Benevolence, for the Welfare of all Beings, by the different and various Powers of his great Substitute NATURE. These *Attributes*, and the great and innumerable Means by which he effected his divine Will, were set forth in *mystical* Fables, and *personaliz'd* under different Shapes and Characters, according to their respective and proper Qualities; which being thus *figuratively* expos'd to the Vulgar, were by the simple-minded Multitude understood *literally*, and received with implicit Faith³. The *Politicians* and *Priests* after-

³ The vulgar *Egyptians* so far mistook the Meaning of their Priests, that they not only paid Adoration to these *personaliz'd Representations* of the *Attributes* of the true God as so many *distinct Deities*, but in Time even worshiped the very *Symbols* of the Powers of NATURE. Thus an Onion, being the Symbol in their Temples of the planetary System, from having seven Folds one within another, answerable to the Orbits of the Planets, was by the ignorant Multitude revered

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afterwards finding their Advantage in this Mistake and Credulity, converted the wise and good Intentions of their Predecessors, into the base Means of acquiring Power and Profit for themselves; and confirmed the Error by repeated Assurances of the Veracity of such Fables, concealing the Origin and End of them from all but their own Fraternity. This Religion therefore in itself was, as far as the Light of Nature will admit, pure and undefiled; but prostituted at first by the *Egyptian*, and afterwards by the *Grecian* Priests, to the base End of usurping an uncontrouled, arbitrary, and the worst of tyrannical Dominion over their Fellow Creatures.

In this Condition *Socrates* found the established Religion of the *Athenians*, which he

vered as something which had Divinity in it. Upon which the *Roman* Satirist (who perhaps was as little acquainted with the Origin of this Root-worship as the People themselves whom he ridicules) cries out,

*O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!*

Juv. Sat. 15.

The Priests dishonestly improving upon this superstitious Infatuation, daily increased their Number of *hieroglyphical Figures, Types, and Symbols*, which being worshiped as so many *distinct Deities*, augmented the Number of Temples, and consequently the various Orders of Priesthood, till the whole Country was at last swallowed up in the *Hierarchy*. In like manner the *Grecians*, imitating their *Egyptian* Masters, rais'd Temples to every Faculty of the human Mind, whose Altars continually smok'd with the Sacrifices and Offerings of their deluded Votaries.

he did not so much desire to *destroy*, as to *reform* and *restore* to its primitive Purity and Design. And here perhaps it may be asked, that as *Socrates* comply'd thus often externally with the superstitious Rites of his Country, to avoid disturbing the public Peace, why he would never be initiated into the sacred Mysteries at *Eleusis*, which were regarded as the greatest and most holy Institutions of *Polytheism*? The Reason of such a peculiar Refusal was this: The *greater* of these *Eleusinian Mysteries*, (for the *lesser* were nothing more than Exhibitions of public Shows to the People) into which none were initiated but such as were of experienced Wisdom and Virtue, or others whom for political Ends it was necessary to introduce into this grand Secret, were originally instituted, and still continued, to explain the whole Design and true Meaning of all *Pagan Theology*, wherein, as shall be proved at large in the Note below⁹, the Initiates were instructed

⁹ Above in the Text, where this Note is referred to, I proposed to explain and demonstrate what these Representations were; but first let us know the Origin. *Diodorus Siculus* in his first Book informs us, that such sacred Mysteries (as well as all other *symbolical Representations* of the DEITY) were first *invented* by the *Egyptians* in Honor of *Isis* and *Osiris*, wherein the great CREATOR of the Universe was signified by *Osiris*, and NATURE his *Substitute* by the other Appellation *Isis*. And that this was the real Interpretation, we may

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fructed in the *Unity* of the DEITY, and taught that those various *scenical Representations* in the *lesser Mysteries* were *typical Descriptions* of his *many Attributes*, and *historical Pictures* of the principal Powers of NATURE, subservient to his all-directing Wisdom.

may learn from that most consummate Master of all *Pagan Learning* and *Theology*, *Apuleius*. In his *Address to Isis*, he makes *particular* and *distinct Use* of these *physical Expressions*, which are applicable only to NATURE: "Tu
" rotas orbem, illuminas solem, regis mundum, tibi respon-
" dent fidera, gaudent numina, redeunt tempora, serviunt ele-
" menta: tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germi-
" nant semina, crescunt gramina." Then afterwards in his
Description of *Osiris*, (i. e. the DEITY) he uses these *moral Appellations*, in Contradistinction to the other: "Deus deum
" magnorum potentior, et magnorum summus, et summo-
" rum maximus, et maximorum regnator *Osiris*." *Apul. Metam. lib. 11.* Then in his farther *Addresses to NATURE*, he recapitulates the different Places where she was, and the different Names by which she was, thus *figuratively* worshipped in the *Mysteries* of several Countries, all which had the same great Original and End: "Regina cœli, five tu *Ceres*
" alma frugum parens originalis, quæ repertu lætata filæ,
" vesculæ glandis ferino remoto pabulo, miti commonstrato
" cibo, nunc *Eleusiniam* glebam percolis; seu tu cœlestis *Venus*,
" quæ primis rerum exordiis sexuum diversitatem gene-
" rato amore sociasti, et æterna sobole humano genere pro-
" pagato, nunc circumfluo *Paphi* sacrario coleris; seu *Phæbi*
" *Soror*, quæ partu foetarum medelis lenientibus recreato,
" populos tantos educaſti, præclarisque nunc veneraris delu-
" bris *Epheſi*; seu nocturnis ululatibus horrenda *Proserpina*
" *triformi facie* larvales impetus comprimens, terræque clau-
" ſtra cohibens, *lucos diversos inerrans*, VARIO CULTU pro-
" pituiſ, &c." *Apul. Metam. lib. 11.* For a more particular Account of the *Egyptian Theology*, &c. I refer the Reader to the learned Mr. *Jackson's* Explanation of the Philosophers Belief of a future State, &c.

Wisdom. Now as *Socrates* taught his Disciples the same Doctrine (i. e. the *Unity* of the DEITY) as was *mystically* shadowed forth in the *lesser*, and fully explain'd in the *greater Mysteries* at *Eleusis*, he would never be initiated into these Ceremonies, that his Enemies might not have a Pretence of accusing him of divulging the grand Secret, a Crime always punishable with Death, which they could not do *directly*, whilst he was uninitiated. However the Sequel plainly evinces, that whatever was the Pretext, this was the Cause of his being brought to a Punishment inflicted upon the greatest Criminals, *viz.* his Doctrine of the *Unity* of the DEITY, and a more rational Account of a Retribution of future Rewards and Punishments; which, if it had been publicly and universally taught to the People, (as they feared in Time it might, by the mighty Progress it already had made) would have totally destroyed the lucrative Employment of those sacerdotal Impostors. Now to return.

The Conspirators having spread abroad these Reports, so detrimental at that Time in the Eyes of the *Athenians* to the Character of *Socrates*, and having by these Means sufficiently prepar'd the People for the Reception of any future Calumny, *Melitus*, according to the Custom of *Athens*, laid his Accusation in Form before the Magistrates,

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gistrates, who thereupon having given proper Notice to the People, the Court of *Helica* ¹⁰ was summoned, and the usual Number of Citizens appointed by Lot for that Purpose, to sit there as Judges of the Case.

As soon as the Friends of *Socrates* heard of these Proceedings, they immediately came to acquaint him with the Malice of his Adversaries, some ¹¹ bringing studied Orations for his Defence, and others advising him to compose something himself in Answer to their Calumnies; to which he replied with the greatest Composure of Mind, " I have
" never done any Ill in my Life, and I look
" upon that to be the most beautiful De-
" fence I can make ¹²;" adding, " perhaps
" God himself out of his abundant Good-
" ness has done this for me, that I should
" finish my Life not only at a proper Age,
" but

¹⁰ A Court so called from its being open to the Air, *απο τε Ηλις*, which was composed most usually of two, or five hundred, sometimes more. *Monf. Rollin* mistakes this Court for that of the *five hundred*; but he was led into this Error, I suppose, by the similar Number of Citizens that sometimes sat in both. Now *Socrates* plainly says, in *Plato's Apology*, that he never was in that Court [i. e. *Helica*] before, whereas he was a Member of the Council of *five hundred* when the *Arginusian* Generals were condemned.

¹¹ *Lysias*. Vide *Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr. Quint. xi. 1. & 11, 15. Val. Max. vi. 4.*

¹² Οὐδὲν ἀδίκον διαβῆναι ποιών, ἤμπερ νομίζω μελέτην εἶναι καλλίστην ἀπολογίας. *Xen. Socr. Defens.*

“ but by the most easy Method too ¹³.”
 What a noble Instance of Magnanimity,
 and the Force of true Religion! to look
 upon what is regarded generally with the
 utmost Terror, as the greatest Blessing,
 when conducive to the Designs of the in-
 finitely good and wise CREATOR of all
 Things!

When the Day appointed by a public
 Proclamation for the Tryal was come, he
 came before the Tribunal, not with the ab-
 ject Appearance of a Criminal, but with
 the Dignity of a Magistrate that was about
 to preside in the Assembly; and this Con-
 duct proceeded not from Pride, but the
 Greatness and real Worth of his Soul ¹⁴;
 for Innocence fortifies the Breast with a
 Resolution, which the Force of human Ter-
 rors can never destroy. The Judges being
 seated, the Accusation laid against him was
 read: “ 1st, That he pry’d with an irrel-
 “ gious Curiosity into what pass’d in the
 “ Heavens and the Bowels of the Earth;
 “ that he denied *the Gods of his Country*,
 “ and boasted to be inspired by an *unknown*
 “ *God*, or rather that he owned no God
 “ at all ¹⁵. 2dly, That he corrupted the
 “ Youth,

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ “ Adhucque liberam contumaciam a magnitudine
 “ animi ductam, non a superbia.” Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 1.

¹⁵ Plat. Apol.

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 129

“ Youth, by teaching them to despise the
 “ Laws, and the *Manner* of electing Ma-
 “ gistrates, and thereby rendered them vio-
 “ lent Disturbers of the public Peace ¹⁶.”
 In this Place it will be proper to distinguish
 what Part of the Charge was true, for
 which his ungrateful Country condemn'd
 him, and for which his Memory has been
 so justly rever'd thro' all succeeding Ages ;
 and which was the malicious Calumny of
 his Accusers. First then, “ that he dis-
 “ own'd the *Gods of his Country*, and con-
 “ fess'd an unknown God,” is manifest ;
 for in acknowledging this Truth before the
 Judges, he says, To deny it, or even to be
 silent, would be *to disobey God* ¹⁷ ; and se-
 condly, his Disapprobation of the *Manner*
 in chusing the Magistrates by Lot is as ap-
 parent ; “ For (says he, speaking upon this
 Subject) “ when you want a Pilot, a Smith,
 “ or a Musician, you don't accept of them
 “ as they come by *Chance* ; and surely the
 “ Miscarriage of such as these would be
 “ of much less Detriment than Male-admi-
 “ nistration in Government ¹⁸.” But as to

I that

¹⁶ Xen. Mem. lib. 1.

¹⁷ Το Θεω απειθειν. Plat. Apol. Here he uses the sin-
 gular Number particularly, to indicate his Faith in God, the
 only CREATOR and GOVERNOR of the Universe, in Contra-
 distinction to the vulgar Notions of Polytheism.

¹⁸ Xenoph. Mem. lib. 1. This Declaration made all
 those become his Persecutors, whose Want of Virtue and
 Abilities

that Part of the Charge, of *denying the Existence of a God*, was a Calumny we find which even his Enemies themselves contradicted in the very Accusation, and was so great and apparent an Absurdity, that I have often been surpriz'd that the Grossness of this one Imputation did not open the Eyes of the Judges, and overthrow the Validity of all the Indictment. How blind are the Eyes of the Understanding, when inflam'd by the feverish Zeal of false Religion ! Nor was the Aspersion of *his corrupting the Youth* less flagrantly unjust ; for as his great Disciple *Xenophon* observes, after he has enumerated his unequall'd Virtues, " How " could such a Man corrupt Youth, except " the Study of Virtue itself should be " thought Corruption " ? " Here the noble Writer seems to hint, that the Offence which he gave to those who conspired against him, was not *corrupting the Morals of Youth*, but *correcting their false Opinions in civil and religious Affairs* ; for the Virtue *Socrates* inculcated and impress'd upon their Minds, was

Abilities would for ever have excluded them from the Profits and Power of Magistracy, had not this Method of Election by Lot given them an equal Share in the Government with the most deserving.

^{T9} Πως αν εν ο τριστοις ανηρ Διαφθειροι τε Νεους, ει μη αρα της αρετης επιμελεια Διαφ'ορα εστιν. Xen. Mem. lib. 1.

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 131

was more odious to the *Hierarchy* and Magistracy than the most pernicious Vice itself, because it tended to free Mankind from the Tyranny they had united to exercise over them. When *Socrates* therefore had made an Answer to every Particular, as was the Custom in judicial Proceedings, and confuted the Accusers even by their own Confessions, which may be seen at large in the *Apology* of the divine *Plato*, he concluded in the following Manner: “ I don’t think it right,
 “ O *Athenians*, to supplicate a Judge, or
 “ to be pardon’d by such a Supplication,
 “ but to convince and persuade him by
 “ Reason. For a Judge does not fit here to
 “ be partial to whom he pleases, but to decide according to Law and Equity, and
 “ that he takes an Oath to perform. We
 “ who are accus’d, therefore, ought not on
 “ one hand to accustom you to break that
 “ Oath, and you on the other ought not to
 “ permit such Endeavors. For neither
 “ you nor we in such a case would act
 “ justly and religiously. Don’t expect me
 “ therefore, O *Athenians*, to do these
 “ Things which I look upon to be neither
 “ creditable, just, or pious, especially as I
 “ am accused by this *Melitus* of Impiety;
 “ for should I by my Prayers render you
 “ guilty of Perjury, ’twould be sufficient
 “ Evidence that I taught you to believe that
 “ there were no Gods, and by this manner

“ of Defence I should convict myself of
 “ *Atheism* ²⁰. But that is far from being
 “ the Case, for I believe there is a God
 “ more than any of my Accusers do ²¹, and
 “ I resign myself to you and to God ²², to
 “ judge and dispose of me, as it shall be best
 “ both for yourselves and me ²³.”

When he had done speaking, it was put to the Vote whether he was guilty or not, and upon collecting the Beans he was convicted by a Majority of thirty-three Voices. There was a Law at *Athens*, that when any one

²⁰ This corresponds to his whole Doctrine, by insinuating that whoever endeavors to commit Injustice, *practically* denies the *Being* of a God; for whoever is convinced of God's Existence, would surely never be guilty of what must necessarily be opposite to his Pleasure.

²¹ *Socrates* justly insisted, that he believed more in the Existence of a *divine Power* than any of his Accusers, because he had a proper Idea of such a Being, and theirs was grossly erroneous. But the *Athenians* (i. e. the Mob of them) foolishly imagined, that whoever did not believe in *their Gods*, believed in *no God at all*. Such has been the charitable Interpretation of Bigotry and Superstition in all Ages! The sacred Cheats of the Church of *Rome* in like manner teach at this Day, and the fond adoring Herd as implicitly give faith to the same Doctrine; and whomever their *sable Tyrant* anathematizes for want of Credulity in his holy Trumpery, the motley Mobs of juggling Priests, and the deceived Laity, raise the Cry of *Atheist* against, and persecute with all that pious Bitterness peculiar to the Breasts of those whom false Religion inspires.

²² In this Place, where he is particularly confessing his Faith, he again uses the singular Number in the Word *Θεω*, and not *Θεοις*.

²³ *Plat. Apol.*

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 133

one was found guilty upon his Tryal, he should confirm the Equity of his Sentence, or more properly make his Acknowledgment, by condemning himself to one of these Punishments, a Fine, perpetual Imprisonment, or Banishment; but *Socrates*, when it came to this Part of the Ceremony, absolutely refus'd to comply with this Acknowledgment of Guilt, but with a Dignity becoming his Wisdom and Innocence, told his Judges, that if he must sentence himself to any thing, it should be to be maintained in the *Prytaneum* ²⁴ at the Charge of the Republic all the rest of his Life, for the Service he already had done to the Commonwealth. However, that his Refusal might not hereafter be a bad Precedent to others, and as he was always a strict and religious Observer of the Laws of his Country, he comply'd, after having sufficiently indicated this his laudable Reason for so doing, and fin'd himself thirty Minæ, as *Plato* ²⁵ mentions who was present in the Court, and offer'd to give Security for the Payment of the Money, together with *Crito*, *Critobulus*, and *Apollodorus*.

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²⁴ The *Prytaneum* was a magnificent Building, where the Council of the *Prytanes* assembled, and where those who had done any signal Service to the State were maintained at the public Expence.

²⁵ Plat. Apol.

This Part of the Ceremony being over, the Judges who gave their Voices for his Conviction, having consulted a little what they should pronounce to be his Punishment, sentenc'd him to die by the Draught of Hemlock. As soon as their Determination had been read openly in the Court, which was made in a very short Time, thro' the implacable Malice of his Enemies, *Socrates* resum'd his Speech, as follows:

“ You have been very expeditious, O *Athenians*, in giving this Sentence, and thereby afford a Cause for Complaint to those who are willing to calumniate your City for murdering that wise Man *Socrates*; for they will call me wise, tho' I am not so, that they may cast a greater Reproach upon you. If you had waited a little Time, I should have died by the Course of Nature. You see the greatest Part of my Life is spent, and draws near to the Confines of Death. This, however, I don't address to all my Judges, but to those alone who voted for my Condemnation; and 'tis to them I apply what follows. You imagine perhaps that I am convicted for want of such Words, which I should have made use of to supplicate you, if I had thought it becoming me to do *any thing whatsoever* to avoid this Punishment: but herein you are greatly mistaken; for tho' I am convicted,

“ ed,

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 135

“ ed, ’tis true, for want, yet ’tis not of
 “ Abilities to plead in this manner, but of
 “ Impudence and Effrontery, and because
 “ I would not say those Things which in
 “ such Cases you are delighted to hear ²⁶.
 “ For groaning and weeping, and many
 “ other abject Proceedings which you are
 “ accustomed to see in others, are, as I ob-
 “ serv’d, intirely unworthy of me. And
 “ as at first I thought it base to do a mean
 “ thing on account of Danger, so even now
 “ I don’t repent having acted in this man-
 “ ner; and I had much rather chuse to die
 “ using such a Defence, than live by the Pro-
 “ secution of contrary Measures. For neither
 “ in a Court of Justice, nor in War, ought
 “ I or any one else to do *whatsoever* is in
 “ our Power to perform to escape Death. For
 “ it frequently happens in military Engage-
 “ ments, that a Man may save his Life by
 “ throwing down his Arms, and turning to
 “ his Pursuers for Mercy ²⁷. And there
 I 4 “ are

²⁶ As Judges they expected to be intreated with Tears and Prayers by every Offender, or accused Person. But the Behavior of *Socrates*, founded upon the invariable Principles of Justice, being quite opposite to this poor mean-spirited Practice, they look’d upon it as a Contempt of their Power, and an Insult upon their Office.

²⁷ Among the Ancients, nothing was so great a Disgrace to a Soldier as to have thrown down his Arms, or to have left his Shield in the Field of Battle; to which *Horace* alludes, lib. 2. od. 7. *et celerem fugam ferfi, relicta non bene parmula*; for the latter always imply’d the former.

" are many Expedients in every Danger by
 " which Death may be avoided by those,
 " who are not ashamed to do and say *any*
 " *thing* to attain that End. It is not the
 " difficultest Matter to escape Death, O
 " *Athenians*, but to escape *Infamy* is much
 " more so, which is far the swiftest of the
 " two ²⁸. And accordingly I that am slow
 " and old am overtaken by the more tardy,
 " whilst my Accusers who are young, vi-
 " gorous, and active, are in like manner
 " by the more expeditious one, *Infamy*.
 " Thus am I now going to suffer Death by
 " your Condemnation, and they to under-
 " go Disgrace and Infamy by the Condem-
 " nation and Judgment of Truth ²⁶, I
 " am

²⁸ These *metaphorical Allusions* and *allegorical Personages* give the Energy and Life to the Compositions of *Plato*, which have been admir'd thro' so many Ages. The *Prosopopeia*, the most beautiful Figure in Poetry, founded on the *moral Sense*, is frequently used in almost every Dialogue; which representing the *Affections* and *Modes* of the Mind as *Persons*, brings the very Images of them before our Eyes, and convinces the Reason even thro' the Senses; for in this Light, as *Horace* observes in another Affair, these Things are *oculis subjecta fidelibus*. The sacred Penmen delight in this Imagery, " who (to use the Expressions of a very ingenious Author) " represent *Justice* and *Judgment* as supporting the " *ALMIGHTY's* Throne, and *Mercy* and *Truth* going before " his Face: they shew us *Peace* as springing up from the " Earth, and *Mercy* looking down from Heaven." See *Hutcheson's* Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Good and Beauty.

²⁹ *Maximus Tyrius* borrowed his Observation from this Passage above: *Σοφελὺς ἀπεθνήσκειν* (says he) *ἀθναίος*

BOOK IV. S O C R A T E S. 137

“ am very well satisfied with my Sentence,
 “ and so are they with theirs. Thus these
 “ Things are perhaps as they ought to be ;
 “ and for my own Part I think the Destina-
 “ tion of them very proper. In the next
 “ place, I have a mind to prophesy to you
 “ who have condemn’d me, for I am now
 “ arriv’d at that State, when Men generally
 “ are most enabled to foretel future Events,
 “ by being upon the Brink of quitting this
 “ Life, and looking as it were into the
 “ Book of Fate ³⁰. I tell you then, O
 “ *Athenians*, that if you put me to Death,
 “ a more heavy Punishment shall fall upon
 “ you immediately after my Decease than
 “ what you now inflict upon me ³¹. You
 “ do

δε κατεδί αζοντο, Δικασταις δε ην αυτοις Θεος η Αληθεια.
 Dissert. 39.

³⁰ As he in this Place (as is sufficiently indicated in the Text) is speaking only to those of the Judges who condemned him, and consequently such as were still strongly attached to their Country’s Superstitions, he applies and adapts his Discourse accordingly ; and in order to give a Sanction to his Prediction, of what he thought must necessarily be the Consequence of that general Depravity which reign’d thro’ the State, he gave it the Air of a Prophecy by alluding to the vulgar Opinion, that those who were departing this Life could foretel future Events, as taught by their Poets. Thus *Homer* in *Iliad* 22. makes *Heſtor* at the Point of Death, conformable to the Gift which dying Persons were supposed to be possess’d of, prophecy to *Achilles* :

Τον δε καταθνησκων προσειπον ———

Η σ’ ευ γινωσκων προτιωομαι .

³¹ This Prediction was verified by a Succession of Misfortunes that fell upon *Athens*, from this *Era* down to the total

“ do this, imagining to free yourselves from
 “ giving an Account of your Lives; but
 “ I tell you beforehand, that in this you
 “ will not accomplish your Desires. Many
 “ others will arise to censure you, whom
 “ I, tho’ you don’t perceive it, at present
 “ restrain. And as they are younger than
 “ me, they will prove more troublesome,
 “ and you will feel their Reproofs in a
 “ more disagreeable manner. If you think
 “ that destroying such Persons is an ef-
 “ fectual way to free yourselves from the
 “ Censure that follows an ill-spent Life,
 “ you make a very wrong Judgment, for
 “ this Method is impracticable as well as
 “ dishonest; but another which is most
 “ laudable as well as easy to be pursued,
 “ lies open to you, and that is, not to make
 “ away with others who reproach you for
 “ bad Conduct; but to amend your Lives,
 “ and put it out of their Power to give
 “ you this Uneasiness³². Thus much and
 “ no

total Destruction of the Glory of that City. This shews the
 remarkable Honesty of his Disciples, who would not take
 Advantage of the falling out of these Events, (which *Socrates*
 foresaw must be the *natural* Effect of the Corruption of
Athen;) nor attributed the Force of human Wisdom to the
divine Powers of Prophecy. By which Imposture they had
 an opportunity, if they would have us’d it, of aggrandizing
 themselves with the silly credulous Populace, and deifying
 their Master.

³² This was a Precept which would have been not only
 of infinite Service to Heathens, but, if it had been rightly
 attended

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 139

"no more I have to say to those who have
"voted for my Condemnation.

"As for you who have given your Voices
"to acquit me, I would gladly discourse
"with you about these Affairs, whilst the
"Magistrates are employ'd until I go to the
"Place where I must suffer Death. Stay
"with me therefore, my Friends, during
"that Time, for nothing hinders us, whilst
"that lasts, to ³³ confabulate together. I
"am desirous then of shewing you as
"Friends

attended to and observed by many who have abused our most
holy Religion by calling themselves Members of it, would
have sav'd the Blood of Millions, who have fallen a Sacrifice
to the savage Enthusiasm of those inhuman Believers. For
a Proof of this see the Histories of *Italy, Spain, Portugal,*
Germany, France, I wish I could not say formerly *England,*
and every Country where Popery has been predominant. One
would almost imagine that the cruel Authors of these
Massacres we read of, understood literally what our Lord
prophesied in a remote Sense: "Think not that I am come
"to send Peace on Earth: I came not to send Peace but a
"Sword." Matt. x. 34. For otherwise, how could they
act so contrary to the Example of him who constantly prac-
tis'd and taught Sobriety, Forbearance, Humility, Mercy,
Peace, and above all, what comprehends every active Virtue
of human Nature, *universal CHARITY?*

³³ 'Tis very observable, that *Socrates* used the Word
διαμυθελογησαι (which I have translated accordingly to *con-*
fabulate) not casually, but preferably to any other, on pur-
pose (as he spoke in the open Court, and consequently was
heard by the Multitude, tho' he did address his Discourse
particularly to his Friends) that he might deride the Stupidity
of those who treated his Notions as fabulous, by using ironi-
cally the very Expression which his Enemies would have done
had they spoke of his Doctrines.

“ Friends what has just now happen’d to
 “ me, and what is the Meaning of it. For,
 “ O my Judges, (and in calling you so I use
 “ a right Appellation) something has hap-
 “ pened to me which indeed is wonderful,
 “ and this is it: That *divine Impulse* ³⁴
 “ which attends me, and has heretofore
 “ upon the slightest Occasions diverted me
 “ from doing what I was about to put in
 “ Execution, that really was not proper for
 “ me to do, has not this Day given me any
 “ Sign to desist, either when I came out
 “ from home, when I entered into the
 “ Court, nor when I was about to plead,
 “ altho’ such Things have happen’d to me,
 “ as you see, which are generally account-
 “ ed the most calamitous in Life. And
 “ notwithstanding it us’d formerly to stop
 “ me frequently in the very middle of my
 “ Speech, yet it has not in this Affair been
 “ any Impediment to me either in my
 “ Words or Actions. I will tell you there-
 “ fore what I take to be the Cause of such
 “ an Omission: It appears to me that what
 “ I am about to undergo is a very great
 “ Good, for certainly we judge very wrong
 “ who

³⁴ For an Explanation of what he meant by this Dæmon,
 as he commonly call’d this *internal Impulse* of the Soul, see
 above Book III. and Notes *ibid.* 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16,
 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

Book IV. SOCRATES. 141

“ who look upon Death as an Evil; and
“ what convinces me of it is, that if what
“ I was about this Day had not been proper,
“ I should have perceived within me the
“ *usual Sign* to have desisted from the Un-
“ dertaking. However, let us consider the
“ Matter in this manner, and we shall find,
“ that our Hope of Death’s being a real
“ Good is well grounded. Death must
“ necessarily be one of these two Things;
“ either a total Destruction of all Sensation,
“ or a Passage of the Soul from one Place
“ to another. If it is a Privation of all
“ Sense, and, as it were, a Sleep undisturb’d
“ by Dreams, then to die is a Change for
“ the better. And I am of Opinion, that
“ if any one, after having pass’d a Night
“ in such Ease and Tranquility without
“ even the Appearance of a Dream, should
“ compare all the Days and Nights of his
“ Life with this one, and be obliged to de-
“ clare truly how many of those Days and
“ Nights he would prefer to it, I verily
“ believe that not only every private Man,
“ but even the *Great King* : himself would
“ confess that none were preferable to it.
“ If

The *Grecians* call’d the King of *Persia* always the
Great King.

" If this therefore is the State, I call it a
 " great Gain, for Eternity itself would seem
 " only as one Night. Now on the other
 " hand, if Death, according to the com-
 " mon Opinion, is a Passage for the Soul
 " into another Region, where those who
 " die reside, what can be a greater Good
 " than this is?" Here having explain'd,
 according to the vulgar Notions, the Hap-
 piness which the Good enjoy in a future
 State, to converse with *Demi-gods*, *Heroes*
 and *Sages*, he concluded in the following
 Manner: " For these Reasons, O my
 " Judges, you ought to have good Hopes
 " concerning Death, and to be convinced
 " of this Truth, that no Evil can happen
 " to a good Man, either in this Life, or
 " that which is to come "6. For his good
 " Actions are not overlook'd by the Gods.
 " Nor

36 *Mons. Dacier*, in a Remark upon this Passage, falls
 into the following Blasphemy: " Voila une confiance bien
 " payenne! *Socrate* ignoroit les funestes effets du peché, et
 " de la corruption des hommes, qui font que le plus juste
 " doit trembler." How comes it to be Presumption to
 think, that the Good should not fear that any Evil could
 happen to them? Does not our holy Faith authorise us to do
 so? Don't we deny one of the Attributes of God in think-
 ing otherwise? Wherefore then, as he says, ought the most
 just to tremble? What horrid Impiety must it be to imagine,
 that the DEITY is delighted with the *Fear and Trembling* of
 his Creatures!

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 143

" Nor have any of these Things which are
 " fallen upon me, happen'd by Chance;
 " for I am fully convinc'd it is better for
 " me to die and be freed from my Labors.
 " And for this Reason that *internal divine*
 " *Impulse*, which governs my Actions, has
 " given me no Obstructions in my Proceed-
 " ings. Therefore I take nothing ill of
 " those that accus'd, or those that con-
 " demn'd me; tho' what they did was not
 " done with such an Intention, but with a
 " malevolent Design to hurt me, which
 " would afford me room to complain of
 " them. This however I beg of them to
 " do, [then addressing himself to all the
 " Judges together] " that when my Children
 " grow up, if they should trouble you as I
 " have done, you would punish them in
 " like manner; and if they should prefer
 " Riches, or any other Thing whatsoever,
 " to Virtue, and think themselves very con-
 " siderable, when they are nothing, rebuke
 " them as I have done you, for neglecting
 " those Things which deserve their Atten-
 " tion, and for looking upon themselves to
 " be what they by no means are. If you
 " perform this Request, both I and my
 " Children shall receive from you what we
 " deserve. But now 'tis Time for us to
 " retire, I to die, and you to live; but
 " whether you or I are going to the better
 " Office,

" Office, is unknown to all but GOD alone ³⁷."

Here we see the Sage meet Death, not with Fear as a *Dæmon* that was going to drag him to Tortures, but with a friendly Look of Pleasure, as a welcome Guide that was kindly come to conduct him to the Regions of unalterable Happiness; not repining at and reviling Mankind in general for the Corruption of a few, but chearfully submitting to this Act of Injustice, rather than be instrumental in impairing the Laws of his Country, which, though in this Case misapply'd, were, when rightly executed, he thought, subordinate to, and dependent upon, those of that GREAT JUDGE who cannot err.

As they were leading him away to Prison, many of his Friends and Disciples met him, all weeping and complaining of the Cruelty

³⁷ Plat. Apol. This Conclusion cannot by any means be construed into Scepticism. The Meaning of this last Sentence (that GOD alone knew whether he or the *Athenians* were going upon the better Errand) is, that GOD alone could know which of the two was best for the general Harmony of the Universe: for *Socrates* look'd upon himself and all other Beings bound by Duty, patiently, nay willingly to submit to the Will of him who governs all Things as they ought to be. Therefore the *αὐτὸν θεὸν* was relative to the whole Creation, as if he had said, that GOD alone could know which of these two Actions contributed most to the Welfare of it.

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 145

Cruelty shewn to their Master ; but he with a chearful Countenance ask'd them why they wept, adding, that he was condemn'd to die by Nature, even at his Birth. “ If I “ was snatch'd away by Death from a Scene “ overflowing with Good, said he, then “ indeed there would be a Reason for “ my Lamentations, and for theirs who “ love me ; but as I am hereby releas'd “ from impending Misery, I think you “ ought to rejoice at my Welfare ³⁸.”

Among the rest *Apollodorus*, one of his Disciples, who loved him tenderly, tho' otherwise, as his Contemporaries assure us, a weak Man, came lamenting that *Socrates* was unjustly put to Death ; “ What, says *Socrates* smiling and laying his Hand upon his Head, “ would you rather see me die “ deservedly than undeservedly ³⁹ ?” When they had brought him to the Prison, (from which Place, as *Seneca* says ⁴⁰, all the usual Ignominy was taken away by his Presence) he was deliver'd over, according to Custom, to the Officer of the Eleven Magistrates who had the Direction of all Capital Punishments. But on the Evening of his Con-

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demnation,

³⁸ Xenoph. Socr. Defens.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Carcerem intravit ignominiam ipsi loco detractus.
Sen. de Cons.

demnation, the Priest of *Apollo* having crown'd the Poop of the sacred Vessel, which annually sail'd with an Offering into the Island of *Delos* ⁴¹, as a Signal for its Departure, no Criminal being by the Laws of *Athens* to suffer during the Voyage, the Execution of *Socrates* was postponed till the Return of the Votaries. During the Time of his Confinement here, his Disciples attended him with the most unshaken Attachment.

In this Place *Plato* has laid the Scene of two of his finest Dialogues, *Crito*, and *Phædo*; and no doubt but his *Theban* Scholar *Cebes*, who is introduc'd in the latter of these two Dialogues together with his Friend and Countryman *Simias*, collected from these Discourses of his dying Master, the Philosophy which he has so beautifully interwoven in his *Mythological Picture of human Life* ⁴².

In

⁴¹ This Voyage was religiously performed every Year by the *Athenians*, according to a Vow made in the Time of *Ægeus*, by *Theseus* his Son, which *Plutarch* fully relates in the Life of that Hero. This Voyage was called *Theoria*, the People who went with the Offering, *Theoroi*, and the Vessel they sail'd in, *Theoris*. As soon as the Priest had given the Signal for sailing, the City was purified, nor was any Criminal put to Death during the Ceremony.

⁴² This most beautiful picturesque Description of Man, and the various Incidents of Life, the *Passions* and *Modes* of the

BOOK IV. S O C R A T E S. 147

In this Interval *Socrates* employed himself in meditating and conversing on the Nature of Death, and the well-grounded Hopes of a glorious Futurity; and at other Times, when his Friends were not with him, he amus'd himself and relax'd his Mind with turning moral Fables into Verse, and composing a Hymn to *Apollo* ⁴³. Such was the Good-nature and Humanity of this great Man, that, tho' he fell a Sacrifice to the Superstition of an ungrateful idolatrous People, he chose rather to comply so far with their speculative Errors, than to raise any Insurrection or Disturbance in the State after his Death, by composing any thing in his last Hours in Contempt of their religious Opinions.

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At

the Mind, is deriv'd from that sacred Fountain of Wisdom; the same Figure [i. e. *Prosopopeia*] running thro' the whole Piece, which, as I have already remarked, [vide supra Note 28.] *Socrates* so greatly delighted in. In the Beginning the Soul is introduc'd, in a very poetical manner, as entering into Life, with several Fameles thronging about it. *Αὐταί τινυν* (says he) *ΔΟΞΑΙ, καὶ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑΙ, καὶ ΗΔΟΝΑΙ* καλοῦνται. *ΟΤΑΝ ἔν ἑσπορευνται ὁ ὄχλος, ἀναπιδῶσιν αὐταί, καὶ συμπλεκονται πρὸς ἑκάστην ἑτα ἀπαγῶσι αἱ μὲν εἰς σωσέας, αἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀπολλυδῶς, δια τὴν ΑΠΙΑΤΗΝ, ἀπαγῶσιν.* Cebet. Tab.

⁴³ What became of these Pieces is uncertain, but 'tis agreed on by all hands that none of them remain'd after his Decease. Vide Diog. Laert. *Tully* observes rightly the same thing, but in more general Terms: "Cum ipse litteram (says he) *Socrates* nullam reliquisset." De Orat. lib. 3.

At the Expiration of about seven or eight and twenty Days, *Crito*, his favorite Disciple, came early one Morning into the Prison to acquaint him with the ill News, as he call'd it, of the sacred Vessel's being arriv'd at *Sunium*, not many Leagues from *Athens*, upon the Return of which he was to die. When *Crito* enter'd he found *Socrates*, to his no small Astonishment, fast asleep; therefore being unwilling to disturb him, he sat by his Bed-side till he awaken'd. When *Socrates* awoke and found *Crito* sitting by him so very early, (for it was before Day-break) he asked him what brought him thither at that Hour; to which the other answering, that he was come to acquaint him that he must die on the Day following, he reply'd with the most undisturb'd Countenance, " Let it be so, if
 " it is the Will of God; however, added
 " he, I imagine it won't be to-morrow,
 " for I've just had a very pleasant Dream,
 " which informs me the contrary. Me-
 " thought a handsome Woman clad in
 " white came to me and said,
 " In three Days hence on *Phthia's* fruitful
 " Shore
 " Thou shalt arrive 44."

By

44 Ημάς μὲν τεύξασθαι φθινὴν εἰσεῶλον ἰκός. Homer. Iliad. I. Mr. Dacier very justly calls the Gramarians to account

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 149

By the Citation of this Verse from the ninth Book of *Homer's Iliad*, where *Achilles* says to *Ulysses*, *If I have a prosperous Gale I shall arrive in three Days at Phthia*, which was his native Country, *Socrates* gives *Crito* to understand, by the Relation of this fictitious ⁴⁵ Dream, that he believed he should not die till three Days were passed; representing hereby at the same time this World as a foreign Country, wherein his Soul had only made a Journey, but was to return back to Heaven its Home from whence it came, and where it was to remain at last. What can be a greater Indication of the Tranquility of his Mind, than the Application of this Passage to himself? This however was a very unsatisfactory Reply to *Crito*, who came with a Design to persuade his Master to escape Death by breaking Prison; and to enforce his Persuasions represented his Execution so near at hand, which he falsely thought would

K 3

have

account for that foolish Piece of Nonsense, in looking upon *φθιν* as if it was derived from *φθισις*, which would alter the Sense intirely. I suppose they did not remember this Line in *Homer*, otherwise they could not have been guilty of such a Blunder.

⁴⁵ It is not to be supposed that *Socrates* did really dream such a thing, 'twas only an ingenious Fiction, to give poor *Crito* some Comfort. And we may see by the Course of the Dialogue, that no other Meaning was laid upon it either, (vide *Plat. Crit.*) altho' it is not particularly explain'd so

have had the desired Effect upon him. This sincere Friend, however, still continued to urge every Argument he could think of, to prevail upon him to enter into his Design; for he had already gained over the Keeper, and taken every other Method necessary to put it into Execution. As he knew that *Socrates* had a tender Esteem for his Country, he first endeavored to convince him, that nothing could be more laudable than to prevent the *Athenians*, by this Escape, from imbruing their Hands in the Blood of the Innocent; he then represented in particular, the Calumnies that would necessarily be thrown upon his innocent Friends and Disciples, for not providing for his Safety; and lastly, when he had ineffectually appealed to the Man, he addressed his Discourse to the Father, by painting all the Calamities and Misfortunes that might fall upon his Children, when deprived of his parental Advice, Example, and Protection. To all which *Socrates* reply'd,

“ My dear *Crito*, your Care and Good-will
 “ is very commendable, provided it agrees
 “ with right Reason; but if it does not do
 “ so, the worse it is in proportion to its
 “ Influence. Therefore we ought to con-
 “ sider whether this Thing is proper to
 “ be done or not. For it has always been
 “ my Practice to agree to none but those
 “ Reasons, which upon a full Examination

BOOK IV. S O C R A T E S. 151

“ have seem’d to me to be the best ⁴⁶, and
 “ those which I have hitherto profess’d, I
 “ shall not now lay aside, tho’ these Mis-
 “ fortunes have fallen upon me ; for they
 “ appear to me in the same Light as they
 “ have heretofore done, and I esteem and
 “ honor them as much as ever.” Then
 having confuted these erroneous Opinions
 which the warm Benevolence of *Crito* had
 suggested to him, against the more vigorous
 Decrees of Civil Institutions, *Socrates* con-
 tinued his Argument in this manner : “ We
 “ ought not to do the least Injustice to any
 “ Man [you grant] tho’ we suffer never so
 “ much from him ⁴⁷.——If we go from
 “ hence without the Consent of the City,
 “ shall we not injure some People, and
 “ those too who by no means deserve it ?

K 4

“ Suppose

⁴⁶ The same Reply he made to *Hermogenes* upon another Occasion, viz. that all his Life was spent in considering what was just and what was unjust, and that he regulated all his Actions accordingly, by pursuing the one and avoiding the other. ΟΤΙ ἔδεν ἄλλο ποίων διαγεγενήναι ἢ διασκοπῶν μὲν τὰ τε δίκαια, καὶ τὰ ἀδίκαια, περὶ τῶν δὲ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπεχομένης. Xen. Mem. lib. 4.

⁴⁷ This Rule he kept inviolable thro’ his whole Life both in private and public, never so much as returning Evil for Evil, tho’ when it was consistent even with Justice to do so ; but endeavoring by all laudable Methods to make all Men his Friends. Οἶδα γὰρ αἰ μαρτυροῦν μοι (says he to those who knew the Assertion to be true) οἷ ἐγὼ ἠδίκηκα μὲν ἔδεναι πῶποτε ἀνθρώπων ἔδε χερσὶ ἐποίησα, βέλ- τιςς δὲ ποιεῖν ἐπιδόμην αἰ τὸς ἐμοὶ συνόντας. Xen. Mem. lib. 4.

“ Suppose then as we are escaping, or re-
 “ tiring from this Place, or whatever you
 “ call it, that the LAWS of the Republic
 “ should address themselves to me in the
 “ following manner : *Tell us, O Socrates,*
 “ *what have you an Intention to do? Don't*
 “ *you know that by this Undertaking you de-*
 “ *stroy, as much as in your Power to do so,*
 “ *us the LAWS and the whole Commonwealth?*
 “ *For can you imagine that any City can*
 “ *subsist, where the Laws are not only with-*
 “ *out Force, but are despised and trampled*
 “ *upon by private Persons?—What then is*
 “ *this Action of yours, but a Violation of the*
 “ *Laws of your Country?* ⁴⁸ ——— [Don't
 “ *proceed therefore in it]* but obey us, O So-
 “ crates, who have brought you up from
 “ your Infancy, nor prefer either your Friends,
 “ your Children, or any thing else whatever,
 “ to Justice; so that when you come into an-
 “ other Life, you may be able to vindicate
 “ yourself before your Judges there. But if
 “ you put in Execution what you are about
 “ to do, it will not be better either to you or
 “ yours, here or hereafter. If you die, you
 “ are

⁴⁸ I have not translated the whole Speech of the LAWS,
 as a great Part of it is a kind of a Recapitulation of the Ar-
 gument, but only that Part which is most conclusive, and
 contains the Design of the whole; therefore those Marks —
 above denote where I have left out Part.

BOOK IV. SOCRATES. 153

“ are injur’d not by the Laws but by Men ;
 “ whereas if you escape in this base Manner,
 “ and retort the Injustice by breaking the
 “ Compact you have made with us, and in-
 “ juring so many innocent Persons, we shall
 “ be implacable to you still whilst you remain
 “ in this Life, and when you go into the
 “ other, the LAWS there, who are our
 “ Sisters, shall by no means give you a fa-
 “ vorable Reception, as knowing that you en-
 “ deavor’d to ruin us as much as you was
 “ able. These Things methinks I hear, O
 “ my dear Crito, as the *Corybantes* ⁴⁹ ima-
 “ gine they hear the sacred Flutes ; and these
 “ Words resound so much in my Ears, that
 “ I am not able to hear any thing else.
 “ Then be easy, and let me acquiesce in
 “ my present Fate, since God conducts me
 “ to it. ⁵⁰

When he had done speaking, *Crito* hav-
 ing nothing to object to these Reasons, went
 away

⁴⁹ The *Corybantes* were Priests of *Cybele*, who as soon as they heard the sacred Flutes, used in their religious Ceremonies, were possessed with a divine Enthusiasm equal to Madness. Hence those who were transported violently with any thing, were called *Corybantes*, which Expression *Socrates* applies to himself in regard to Reason and Justice. These Priests were called *Corybantes* (as *Diodorus Siculus* remarks) from *Corybas*, who first instituted the Worship of the Mother of the Gods in *Phrygia*. *Maximus Tyrius* speaks thus of this religious Fary of the *Corybantes*: *Φασὶ τὰς Κορυβαντιστῶνας, ἐπειδὴν ἀκυσσῶσιν αὐλὰς, ἐνθουσιαζ, &c.* Dissert. 22.

⁵⁰ Plat. Crit.

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away very disconsolate ; for, as he lov'd his divine Master tenderly, the amiable Failings of Humanity prevailed a while over the Dictates even of the most perfect Philosophy, and Grief took possession of his Heart, whilst Reason in vain interposed her Authority.

The End of the FOURTH BOOK.



THE



L. P. Boizard inv. et sculp.

THE
L I F E
O F
S O C R A T E S.
B O O K V.

UPON the Arrival of the sacred Vessel from *Delos*, all the Friends and Disciples of *Socrates*, that were in the City, excepting *Plato* who was sick^r, repaired to the Prison to take their last Farewel of

^r I have often regretted that *Plato* was not more explicit in this Place, and did not assign the Cause of his Sickness, which

of their dying Master. As they came very early in the Morning that they might have an Opportunity of conversing with him all the Day, they were detain'd some time at the Prison Door before they were admitted; for the Eleven Magistrates were then untying *Socrates*, according to the Laws of *Athens*, which decreed, that when a Criminal was by the final Orders of these Eleven doom'd to die, he was immediately releas'd from all manner of Bonds, as a Victim to Death ^a.

As

which in all Probability was the cruel Usage his divine Master received from his ungrateful Country. He only makes *Phædo* speak thus, Πλάτων δὲ ἠδυνεί. Perhaps he thought it would have been superfluous to have said upon what Account, imagining Humanity would suggest the Reason to every feeling Heart. I can't help taking notice of the very severe, tho' just Satire, he throws upon *Aristippus* and *Cleombrotus*; where, in speaking of those who were present at the Death of *Socrates*, he makes *Phædo* answer *Echecrates*, that ask'd whether these two (who in his Prosperity remarkably follow'd him) were likewise there, Οὐδ' ἦα. Ἐν Ἀργίῳ δὲ ἐλεγοντο εἶναι. Plat. Phæd. This, tho' only a plain Denial of their Presence, was a very strong Reproach, because all those who were within any moderate Distance that ever attended his Discourses, came that Day to assist at his Death, except these two, who were at *Ægina*, a Place at the Entry of the *Athenian* Harbour. The Delicacy of *Plato* in this Expression is admirable; he does not positively say they were at *Ægina*, he only says ἐλεγοντο εἶναι. However, 'tis very true that they were at that very Time feasting there, where *Aristippus* constantly lived in the most unbounded Enjoyment of all Pleasures. Vide *Athen. Deipn.* 12.

^a Plat. Phæd. These Eleven Magistrates had all the Prisons under their Inspection, and put in Execution the Sentence of the Courts,

BOOK V. SOCRATES. 157

As soon as this Ceremony was performed, they were introduced by the Goaler into the Apartment ³ in which he was to suffer, where they found him unbound, with his Wife *Xantippe* ⁴ and his Children sitting by him;

³ *Tully* says, *Socrates* was put to Death in the same Goal, (and perhaps Apartment) and drank out of the same Bowl which *Theramenes* did, who was condemned to the Hemlock by *Critias* and the rest of the *Thirty Tyrants*, for not coming into their iniquitous Measures, of whom Mention is made above, Book III. Note 34. *Tully's* Words are these: "Vadit in eundem carcerem, atque in eundem paucis post annis syphum *Socrates*, eodem scelere judicum, quo tyrannorum *Theramenes*." *Tusc. Quæst. lib. 1.* The different Behaviour of these two shall be considered in its proper Place. See below, Note 11.

⁴ *Diogenes Laertius* says, *Socrates* had two Wives at two distinct Times; the first being *Xantippe*, and the second *Myrto* the Daughter of *Aristides* surnamed the *Just*. This is evidently a Mistake, for we find by this Passage of *Plato*, that *Xantippe* was alive at the Death of *Socrates*. "Others will have it (says the same Author) that he married *Myrto* first, and *Xantippe* afterwards, and many are of Opinion that he had them both together; for when the *Athenians* wanted to people their City again, very much exhausted by War and Pestilence, they decreed that every Citizen, tho' he could not properly have two *Wives*, might have Children by another Woman, which *Socrates* came into as well as the other *Athenians*." But as this idle Account is so contradictory to the general Character of his inviolable Chastity, and as this other Wife or Mistress *Myrto* is never so much as once mentioned by his Contemporaries, whose Evidence for Fact I only rely on, it ought to be look'd upon as no more than one of the expletive Stories of that hear-say Tale-telling Writer. *Suidas* (good old Monk!) according to his usual Taste, copies this Nonsense, whom *Monf. La Mothe le Vayer*, with more *Gallic* Complaisance than Truth, obsequiously follows, and calls him "Auteur a son esgard
" fans

him; who, as soon as she saw them approach, cry'd out, "O *Socrates*, this is the last Time you and your Friends will converse together." Upon this *Socrates* turning and looking upon *Crito*, desired him to take her away, which was done accordingly. Then rubbing his Legs where the Chains, just before taken off by the Eleven Magistrates, had gall'd him, "What an unaccountable thing (says he) does that seem to be which Men call Pleasure! how congenial it is with Pain! (tho they
" are

" fans reproche." But however, to set aside these three Worthies, beyond all Dispute, 'tis impossible almost that *Socrates* could marry a Daughter of *Aristides the Just*, who lived almost four Generations before him. This Contradiction to true Chronology *Athenæus* was aware of, and being unwilling to lose, as he thought, so good a Story endeavors to rectify the Mistake, by saying, that this *Myrto* was not the Daughter of *Aristides the Just*, but the Daughter of *Aristides* his Grandson, and consequently Great Grand-Daughter of *Aristides the Just*. Την Αεισίδου Μυρτώ & τῆ Δικαίου καλεῖσθαι (οἱ χρενοὶ δ' & σωχωρεῖν) ἀλλὰ τὴ τεύτε ἀπ' ἐκείνου. Deipn. lib. 13. The Authors who speak of his having married *Myrto*, he informs us, are *Callisthenes*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Saturnus* a *Peripatetic*, and that infamous Fellow *Aristoxenus*, all of whom had this Account from a Book neither now nor even then extant, suppos'd to be written by *Aristotle*. Surely nobody can put this blind, retail'd second-handed, dubious Account, in competition with the Silence of *Plato* and *Xenophon* his Contemporaries and Disciples, who as they have delivered down to Posterity the most minute Incidents of the Life of *Socrates*, would not, without doubt, have omitted so remarkable a thing as this, if there had been any such a Fact. Therefore I think we may safely conclude *Xantippe* was his only Wife.

BOOK V. SOCRATES. 159

“ are esteem’d quite opposite, because they
 “ never meet at the same Time in the same
 “ Person;) for whoever enjoys the one must
 “ unavoidably receive the other, as if they
 “ were naturally united. I believe if *Æsop*
 “ (added he) had thought on this Subject,
 “ he would have made this Fable, or such
 “ a one, that God designing to reconcile
 “ these two Antagonists, and finding his
 “ Endeavor frustrated, he joined their two
 “ Heads together, so that to whomsoever
 “ the one becomes a Guest, the other im-
 “ mediately succeeds, as I have just now
 “ experienced; for the Pain which my Leg
 “ underwent from the Chain, is now suc-
 “ ceeded by Pleasure.”

As soon as he had taken his Legs down
 from the Bed, *Cebes* ask’d him, *how it was*
reconcilable that no one ought to kill himself,
yet it was the Part of a Philosopher to wish
to die? This Question introduc’d that divine
 Discourse on the Immortality of the Soul.
Socrates reply’d, “ O *Cebes*, God hath placed
 “ every Man in a Post upon Earth, which
 “ he ought not to desert without his Leave.
 “ — Would you not be angry if one of
 “ your Slaves should kill himself, and there-
 “ by deprive you of your Property, and
 “ would

“ would not you punish him for so doing if
 “ it was in your Power? In like manner it
 “ is not absurd to think that a Man ought
 “ not to make away with himself, but wait
 “ till God has sent him such a particular
 “ Permission for his Departure, as he just
 “ now has done to me ⁶.——For my part,
 “ if I did not think I should go to the *Gods*,
 “ and to the Society of those Men who are
 “ infinitely better than these upon Earth, it
 “ would be wrong in me not to be trou-
 “ bled at Death. But know ye, that I *hope*
 “ to arrive among the Good and Just who
 “ have departed this Life. This, however,
 “ I am not altogether ⁷ certain of; but that
 “ I shall

⁶ This confutes those idle Notions, that the *Phædo* of Plato caused several great Men among the Ancients, such as *Cleombrotus*, *Aristotle*, *Cato*, and others, to be guilty of Suicide. This Passage not only testifies the Philosopher's great Disapprobation of that horrid Sin, as the highest Mark of Disobedience to our MAKER, but farther teaches us also, that the Light and Religion of Nature itself enjoins us an entire Resignation in all Things to the Will of God, but more particularly so in the Preservation of our own Lives, for the great and all-just Disposal of Providence. How then could *Lactantius*, with his usual invidious Gall against the Philosophers, affirm that “ *Aristoteles præcipitem se dedit nullam aliam ob causam, nisi quod Platoni credidit?*

⁷ I can't help reflecting on the Dishonesty of those, who have detach'd this Part of the Sentence from what follows, as an Argument of *Socrates*'s Scepticism concerning the future Existence of the Soul. His Doubt, we see by the rest of the Passage, extended only to the Manner and Society it was to exist in hereafter, but that it was to return to the Habitation

BOOK V. S O C R A T E S. 161

“ I shall return to the *Gods*, who are the
 “ justest Rulers, is a thing which I *fully*
 “ *assure* you of.—For as the Soul existed
 “ before it animated the Body ⁸, so shall it
 “ return again to a separate Existence after
 “ Solution, and this Change shall be better
 “ for the Good, but worse for the Wick-
 “ ed ⁹.—If a Soul departs pure, and takes
 L “ no

bitation of the *Gods*, and enjoy a State of Bliss and Immortality, is a thing which, we find by what follows, he positively affirm'd.

⁸ It was this Passage, I have often thought, which made several of the *Fathers* such Enemies to *Platonism*.

⁹ What can be a greater Proof than this is, that a future Retribution of Rewards and Punishments is Part of the Religion of Nature? And that *Socrates* and *Plato* taught it to their Disciples; and believed it themselves, this and several other Passages in the Writings of the latter sufficiently demonstrate, and *Tully*, so many Ages after, speaks of this as a Thing which till his Time no body ever doubted of. “ *Socrates* disseruit (says he) duas esse vias, duplicesque cursus animorum e corpore excurrentium. Nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, et se totos libidinibus dedissent, quibus cæcati velut domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinassent, vel in republica violanda fraudes inexplicabiles concepissent, iis devium quoddam itur esse seclsum a consilio deorum. Qui autem se integros castosque servavissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper sevocassent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum: his ad illos, a quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere.” *Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 1.*
 What then can induce some modern Writers at this time to deny so apparent a Truth, I am an intire a Stranger to. But there are indeed Men, who arm'd cap-a-pee with a System, and a little *hypothetically* mad, rush out like *La Mancha's* Knight, and encounter all Objects as Giants and Monsters which unfortunately stand in the way of their Adventure-seeking

" no corporeal Pollution with it, having
 " had no voluntary Communication with
 " the Body during Life, but always collect-
 " ed into itself, and employ'd on these Me-
 " ditations ; for true Philosophy is nothing
 " but to prepare ourselves constantly for
 " Death ; a Soul thus affected, I say, re-
 " turns to a Being like itself, a Being, di-
 " vine, immortal, and full of Wisdom ;
 " where being freed from Error, Ignorance,
 " Fears, unruly Affections, and other hu-
 " man Infirmities, it remains perfectly hap-
 " py ; and, as we say of those who are
 " initiated into the sacred *Mysteries*, truly
 " passes away the rest of its Existence with
 " the *Gods*."

When he had finish'd his Discourse on
 the Immortality of the Soul, to the Satis-
 faction of all present, *Crito*, his beloved
 Disciple, ask'd him how he would be bu-
 ried ? Upon which *Socrates* turning to
Pbædo and the rest, " I can't persuade *Crito*
 (said he smiling) " that this is *Socrates* who
 " is

seeking Career, still raving on the Charms and doing all this
 for the sake of an imaginary *Dulcinea*. One of these
 Knights Errant, who has lately amus'd the Vulgar among
 the *Literati* with his extraordinary Reveries, having chose a
Sancho worthy of such a Master, and arm'd him with some
 of his old military Ornaments, has sent him forth into the
 Lists, and has promised to be responsible for all his proverbial
 Blunders and critical Sayings.

BOOK V. S O C R A T E S. 163

“ is disputing with you ; for he thinks that
 “ the Corps, which he will presently be-
 “ hold, is *Socrates*; and for that Reason
 “ asks me how I would be buried :” Then
 turning to him, “ My dear *Crito*, (added he)
 “ you ought to ask how I would have my
 “ Body buried ; as for that, you may inter-
 “ it as you please, or as is most conformable
 “ to Custom.” Having said this, he rose
 and went into the next Room to bathe ¹⁰.

When he had done bathing, they brought
 his Children to him, for he had three, two
 little ones, and one pretty big, attended by
 the Women of his Family. Here he con-
 tinued some Time, and gave them his Or-
 ders in the Presence of *Crito*, and then hav-
 ing delivered his Children back again to his
 Domesticks, he returned to the rest of the
 Philosophers, who were waiting for him in

L 2

the

¹⁰ The Reason for his bathing immediately before Death, was that he should not give the Women the Trouble of washing his Corps afterwards, as we are inform'd from his own Mouth in the *Phædo* of *Plato*, μὴ περιγυμᾶται ταῖς γυναῖξιν παρέχειν νεκρὸν λύνειν, otherwise he never bath'd thro' Luxury, as the Ancients were accusom'd to do, and very rarely thro' Necessity, for his Body was naturally so sweet that there was seldom any Occasion for washing it. *Arrian* says much more of the uncommon Sweetness of *Socrates*: Σωκράτης ολιγάκις ἐλούετο. Ἀλλὰ εἰς αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἢν ἔτις ἐπιχάει καὶ ἡδύ, ὥς ἦρὼν αὐτὸ οἱ ὠραιοτέροι καὶ εὐχρεαστοί, καὶ ἐπεθυμῶν ἐκείνῳ παρὰ κατὰ κλινεῶς μακρὸν ἢ τοῖς εὐμορφωτάτοις. *Arrian*. *Epiet.* de Mundit.

the other Apartment. Here he sat down upon the Bed, and said very little, till the Officer of the Eleven Magistrates came to tell him that it was time to drink the Poison. This Man, tho' he was habituated by his Office to see frequent Executions, was so affected by the mild Carriage, Innocence, and Resolution of *Socrates*, that he had no sooner delivered his Message, than he turned aside and burst into Tears. When the Hemlock had been sufficiently brew'd up, *Socrates* took the Cup which was presented to him, not only without Confusion or Change of Color, but with Chearfulness and Alacrity, and looking stedfastly upon the Executioner, "Is it lawful, said he, to make a Libation?" The Man replying he had only prepar'd enough for one Potion, "I understand you, answered he, but it is lawful, and it is my Duty likewise, to pray the Gods that my Passage from hence may be fortunate and happy, which I beseech of them with all my Soul." Having made this short Prayer, he drank the Hemlock with all the Tranquility imaginable¹¹. His Friends, as soon as they saw

¹¹ How infinitely more beautiful and more becoming a dying Man, was this Behavior of *Socrates*, than that revengeful boisterous Conduct of *Theremenes*? who, when he was in the same Circumstances, instead of praying to Heaven for

BOOK V. SOCRA TES. 165

saw he had finished the fatal Draught, could no longer refrain from Tears, but gave a Loose to their immoderate Grief¹². *Socrates*, who was the only one in the Company that was unmov'd, perceiving their Affliction, ask'd them how they could give way to such Weaknesses? "To prevent this, said he, I sent away the Women, and now you are falling into it yourselves. I have heard that a Man ought to die with Chearfulness and Thanksgiving; compose yourselves therefore, and behave as becomes you." Such Constancy of Resolution pacify'd the Lamentations of his Friends, and made them blush at the Comparison of their own Conduct with that of their dying Master.

L 3

Having

for the future Happiness of his Soul, burst out into a Passion against the Author of his Death, and with a malignant Smile wishes him, by an indirect Figure of Speech, the same Fate as he himself was about to undergo. "Reliquum sic e poculo ejecit, ut id resonaret; quo sonitu redito, arridens, propi-
"no, inquit, hoc pulcro *Critiae*, qui in eum fuit teterrimus." Cicer. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 1. On the contrary to this, *Socrates* was so calm, or rather chearful, upon his approaching End, that as *Tully* tells us, "Cum in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum ita locutus est, ut non ad mortem trudi, verum in cælum videretur ascendere." Tusc. Quæst. lib. 1.

¹² A very great Man many Ages after, we are inform'd, always cry'd, when he read this Account of *Plato* in the Sufferings of *Socrates*: "Quid dicam de *Socrate*? cujus morti illachrymans soleo *Platonem* legens." Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3.

Having walk'd about a little, according to the Direction of the Executioner, and perceiving his Legs grow stiff with the Effect of the Poison, he laid himself down upon the Bed, and covering his Head with his Gown, continued for some time silent in that Posture. But when the Officer of the Eleven Magistrates came in (who during the Conferences had waited without) to bind up his Legs as they grew dead, *Socrates* knowing that this Man would report again what he heard him speak at that *sacred* Hour, (as it was esteem'd among the Ancients) he, according to his accustomed Compliance with the establish'd Rites of his Country, and with no other Design than not to disturb the weak Minds of the People, lifted up his Robe, and looking upon *Crito*, "I owe a Cock, said he, to *Æsculapius*, I desire you would not forget to perform this Offering for me ¹³." These were the last Words he said, and in a few Minutes after expired.

Thus

¹³ The Reason why *Socrates* desired *Crito* to offer for him this Cock to *Æsculapius*, has been hitherto either not understood, or disingenuously misrepresented by the Adversaries of ancient Wisdom. It has often griev'd me to see those who pretend to be the Defenders of our holy Religion, endeavor to overthrow the Sanctity, Knowledge, and Stability, of the greatest Man which human Nature, unassisted by the immediate Hand of God, ever produced. Several have cited this Passage,

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Thus liv'd and dy'd this great and godlike Man, whose Life and Death was in every Respect conformable to that Idea he himself

L 4

enter-

Passage, as an Instance of the Uncertainty of this Philosopher with regard to the *Unity* of the DEITY. "This, say they, sufficiently indicates, that the utmost Extent of human Reason, unenlighten'd by Revelation, avails nothing." That I grant in Matters of Revelation; but the Certainty of the Existence of ONE, *Uncreated, All-powerful, and All-perfect* Being from Eternity, Nature itself in every Object of his glorious Creation universally demonstrates. I'm afraid a contrary Opinion, *viz.* that Natural Religion is Matter of Faith, and not Matter of Reason, will promote *Atheism*, or *Superstition*, and their accursed Consequences, more than the pure Worship of the DEITY, in the unspotted Manner and Practice prescrib'd us by our blessed Guide in Religion *Jesus Christ*. — If these Authors had not laid too great a Byass on their Understandings, and had faithfully and impartially examin'd the Cause why the *Athenian Sage* desired his Friend to observe this Piece of *Grecian Superstition*, which was so contrary to his real Sentiments, they would have found that this Request did not proceed from any Opinion he had of *Polytheism*, but from a Principle of social Love and Humanity. For whoever accurately reads over this excellent Dialogue of *Plato*, (i. e. the *Phædo*) will observe, that these last remarkable Words of *Socrates* were spoken after the Officer of the Eleven Magistrates came to bind up his Limbs, according to the Custom practis'd in such Executions. Therefore when this Man came within Hearing, as he was conscious, as I have observ'd above, that whatever he then said would be repeated to the Populace, he chose rather to comply externally with the religious Ceremonies of his Country, which he was always wont to do, [see above Book I. Note 31. *ibid.*] than by any particular Dissention to be the Cause of civil Contentions, and perhaps the total Subversion of the established Laws, which were so strongly united with the Religion. For as he found it was impossible to eradicate all at once these vulgar Prejudices, he very well knew that a Compliance of this sort with their Superstitions, was the

entertained of the Dignity of human Nature, our Duty to Society, and religious Service to the CREATOR of all Things. All

the most likely Method to obviate all that Persecution which might have follow'd his Disciples and Friends after his Death. For this Reason he left that glorious Work, which he had begun, to be finish'd by them as expeditiously as the Mind of Man could be become wean'd, as it were, from those foolish Notions, and susceptible of receiving the Truth. *Monf. Le Mothe le Vayer* ingeniously, but not justly, regards these Words of *Socrates* in the following Light: " Je croy pas, says he, qu'on les doive rapporter a autre chose qu'a cette figure qui etoit l'ornement continuel de tous ses propos. C'est Ironie ou l'innocente raillerie qui lui plaçoit si fort comme tous ses entretiens en font foy, qu'il s'en voulut servir mesme en mourant. Il dit donc en ce dernier accessoire, qu'il devoit un coq a *Esculape* de Dieu des remedes, pour signifier qu'il se voyoit aux termes d'estre bien tost guery de tous ses maux." At any other Time indeed such a Piece of Raillery, as he calls it, might have been us'd by *Socrates*, because, as the sceptical *Frenchman* observes, Irony was a Figure he delighted in and us'd often; but I can by no means allow, that he would use it at this Time, when his whole Deportment was suitable to his Circumstances, and quite contrary to what he would hereby represent it. However, this Explication was well meant, and the Author has some Merit in not running into the Cry with *Lactantius*, and a Crowd of Bigots, who ignorantly or maliciously accuse him of being a *Polytheist* on account of this Request to *Crito*; nay *Lactantius* carries it so far as to charge him with Vanity and superstitious Cowardice. Vide *Lactant. de fals. Sap.* I was sorry, I must confess, to find so great and well-designing a Man as *Cudworth* was so System-blinded, as to cite with Approbation this invidious Perstrinction of *Origen*: *Και τελικαυτα φιλοσοφαντες πειει της Ήυχης η την διαγωγην της καλως βεβαιουτας διεξελθοις καταλιποντες το μεγαθος ων αυτοις ο Θεος εφανερωσεν ευτελε φερουσι η σμικρα Αλεξηφουνα τω Ασκληπιω αποδιδουτες.* *Orig. cont. Cell. lib. 6.*

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All his Actions, as well as divine Discourses, were living Precepts of Prudence, Justice, Modesty and Fortitude. In Youth he was the Son of Temperance, in Manhood the Brother of social Love, and in Age the Father of Wisdom. His Politics consisted in the most uninfluenced Patriotism, his Philosophy in the most refin'd Humanity, and his Religion in the most exalted Notions and pure Adoration of the only true God. By the first, he fir'd Mankind with the most undaunted Zeal for the Welfare of their Country; by the second, he soften'd their Hearts to the tender Feelings of Benevolence and universal Charity; and by the last, he familiariz'd their Minds to the Idea of an all-perfect DEITY, and taught them almost to anticipate on Earth the Joys of a glorious Hereafter. In each of these he was himself a great Example. As a Citizen, he was valiant in War, constant and uncorrupted in Council, and ever ready and desirous to assist the Commonweal, tho' ever so incompatible with his own private Interest. As a Man, he consider'd the whole Species as his Brothers, and their Concerns had always free Access to his Heart; he had Sighs for their Affliction, and Joy for their Prosperity; he was as delighted to praise the Good, as resolute to rebuke the Wicked, but rather chose to lead Mankind into moral Comeliness by Persuasion,
than

than compel them by Punishments; and tho' he was himself a faultless Pattern of all the Goodness which human Nature alone is capable of, he never despis'd the deficient Endeavors of an honest Heart, but was continually ready to assist the Wants of all with his infallible Admonitions. As a Religionist, he constantly wore the moral Image of God in his Heart, in the Spirit of Mercy and Peace. The Worship he paid to his MAKER was Obedience to his Will, the Knowledge of his Will was acquired by Reason from the Nature of Things, and the Offering he made was an undefiled Heart, the most acceptable to the ALMIGHTY BEING ¹⁴. He made it evident that the End of Wisdom was Virtue, and that Virtue was the only Guide to temporal as well as eternal Happiness. He believ'd and taught that this Life was a probationary State, where we were sent for a Time as to a Tryal, and that there would be a Retribution hereafter of Rewards and Punishments, proportion'd to

¹⁴ Thus *Socrates* altogether liv'd up to that beautiful Precept which *Isocrates* the Orator gives to *Nicoles*. Perhaps *Isocrates* might have the Character of *Socrates* in his Mind, when he wrote this Sentence: *Ηγὺς δὲ τυτὸ εἶναι θυμὸν καλλίστον, καὶ θεράπειαν μεγίστην, εἰαν ὡς βελτίστον καὶ δίκαιοτατον σεαυτὸν παρέχῃς. — Μαλλον γὰρ ἐλπίς τις τοῖστας, ἢ τις ἱερεῖα πολλὰ καταβάλλοντος, πρᾶξεν τι παρὰ τῶν Θεῶν ἀγαθόν.* *Isocr. Orat. ad Niocl.*

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to our different Virtues and Vices; that the Good would enjoy eternal and inexpressible Pleasure among celestial Beings in the beatific Vision of God; and that the Wicked should be tormented by the most severe Consciousness of their Guilt, and by other Afflictions, in a Place of Misery. He always declar'd, that a right Knowledge of the DEITY was the only Method to attain to Perfection in Virtue and Wisdom, for our Endeavors would naturally be, to be as like him as we are able.

It was the last of these Tenets²⁵ that rous'd the disturb'd Swarm of Pagan Priesthood; for that credulous Herd, the People, had hitherto implicitly believ'd whatever the Priests delivered down to them from their Forefathers, and either thro' Indolence or Fear lulling their Reason into a holy Lethargy, had tacitly acquiesced in the established Superstition of their Country. The
Hierarchy

²⁵ This naturally inclin'd his Disciples to enquire freely into the divine Nature, which the Priests being conscious would discover their Impostures, who had represented God (i. e. *their Gods*) in such a false and horrid manner, they, together with their Associates the *Sophists* and *Politicians*, were never easy till they had accomplished their Design of bringing him to this cruel Death. For the same Reason, the holy Cheats of the Church of *Rome* deny the Use of the sacred Writings to the Laity, the reading of which must necessarily detect their numerous Frauds and daily Forgeries.

Hierarchy was at this Time enthron'd on the highest Pinnacle of sacerdotal Grandeur, and the sanctimonious Obedience of the People had so thoroughly transferred the Sight of the human Understanding into the Eyes of Faith, that whilst the one was totally darken'd, and the other supernaturally illuminated, no Absurdity whatever in the Form of Worship, in the Multiplicity of their *Deities*, or in the wild and blasphemous Opinions of the *DIVINE NATURE*, was too gross to be reconcil'd to the Mind by the friendly Interposition of Faith, when usher'd in under the venerable Name of a religious Mystery. The Ignorant are always fond of incomprehensible Words and unintelligible Grimace, having in Religion, as in common Life, a higher Veneration for those Things which they do not know, than for those they are acquainted with; foolishly imagining, that the greater the Contradiction is in religious Affairs to common Sense, so much more it ought to be regarded as an awful mystical Concealment of the Will of Heaven; a Doctrine therefore which instigated Mankind to use their Reason freely in their Enquiry concerning the *DEITY*, (which was the greatest Gift he himself endow'd them with, and chiefly for that very Purpose) must surely be destructive of that sacerdotal Pageantry, and all its Train of mercenary

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nary Impostors and Dependents ¹⁶. For this Reason they never ceas'd to persecute the Author, with all the wonted Malignity of false-plac'd Zeal, till he fell a Martyr ¹⁷ for Truth, Religion, and Virtue, by the Hands of an idolatrous People.

No

¹⁶ In like manner it was for fear of the Destruction of the Craft, which was dependent upon the Idol at *Ephesus*, that the Tumult was rais'd against the holy and eloquent Apostle *St. Paul*, when he preach'd in that Place the true God. See the 19th Chapter of the *Acts*.

¹⁷ How much more does he deserve that Appellation, than the Mob of ignorant Enthusiasts in the *Roman Martyrologies*; many of whom, according to their own Accounts, (if they ever had any other Existence than in these idle Legends) liv'd usefess Fools, and dy'd incendiary Madmen? How much more conformable did this great Philosopher live and die to the since-revealed Will of God, than thousands of these Popish Saints, who never had any other Merit than an enthusiastical Perseverance under Persecution? Sure *Christian* Charity teaches us to believe, that such as *Socrates* are Partakers of eternal Happiness! What rational Creature can refrain from laughing at reading the following Sentence in a celebrated *French* Author, who diffidently says, speaking of *Plato*, "*St. Augustin s'est declare en une infinité d'endroits si passionné pour lui, que Toftat, qui n'a cedé a pas un scholastique du dernier siecle en la connoissance de Peres, croit que ce grand Prelat d' Afrique n'a point doute du salut de Platon.*" Indeed! and a little after subjoins from himself, "*Nous devons fouhaiter que Dieu luy ait fait misericorde.*" The same Author as ridiculously observes in another Place, "*Tous ses scholastiques modernes, qui n'out desespéré du salut de Payens vertueux out esté persuadez de celuy de Socrate.*" 'Tis very condescending in him truly! However, lest he himself should be thought to have too much Presumption in favoring these bold Opinions, he seems to recant Part of his Opinion in another Place, and most orthodoxly cautious adds, "*Je serois bien fâché pour-*
" taut

No sooner were Malice and Envy buried in the Urn with *Socrates*, than the *Athenians* began to reflect upon his eminent Virtue and Wisdom, and to adore the Memory of that Man now he was dead, whom they had so cruelly treated when he was living.

*Quatenus heu nefas
Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi*¹⁸!

A general Mourning was decreed by the Magistrates, the Shops and Places of public Resort were shut up, and a Statue of him of incomparable Workmanship, carv'd by *Lyfippus*, was erected at the public Expence in the most eminent Part of the City¹⁹. Nor did their Respect to the Memory of this Ornament of Mankind end here, for they condemn'd the infamous *Melitus* to Death, and banish'd the rest of his Accusers for ever from the State.

The three principal²⁰ Disciples of *Socrates* whose Works remain (for that Mob that pretended

“ taut d'avoir prononcer affirmativement pour son salut, ny
“ de l'avoir mis avec certitude au rang des bien heureux,
“ comme il sembles que quelques uns ayent voulu faire.”
La Mothe le Vayer de *Socr.*

¹⁸ Hor. lib. 3. od. 24.

¹⁹ Diog. Laert. in vit. *Socr.*

²⁰ Every Sect of Moral Philosophers from this Time claim'd *Socrates* as their Master, and regarded their Founder

pretended to be so, never deserv'd the Appellation) were *Plato* and *Xenophon*,²¹ *Athenians*,

as his Disciple. But all the other Disciples except these three (as *Bortbius* elegantly and figuratively describes them, see Note 26) having borrowed a few Notions from *Socrates* to give a Sanction to the rest of their spurious Doctrines, and being led away by the Vanity of being reputed the Authors of a Sect, deserted his unblemish'd Example, and substituted aerial Conceits of their own. Thus *Antisthenes* the first of the *Cynics*, and *Aristippus* the Founder of the *Cyrenaic* Sect, and all the rest. Let us hear what *Tully*; that great and impartial Judge of their different Pretensions, says of them :
 " Nam cum essent plures orti fere a *Socrate* quod ex illius
 " variis, et diversis, et in omnem partem diffusis disputationi-
 " bus alius aliud apprehenderat, proseminatae sunt quasi fa-
 " miliae dissentientes inter se et multum disjunctae, et dis-
 " pares, cum tamen omnes se philosophi *Socraticos*, et dici
 " vellent, et esse arbitrantur. Ac primo ab ipso *Platone*
 " *Aristoteles* et *Xenocrates*; quorum alter *Peripateticorum*,
 " alter *Academiae* nomen obtinuit: deinde ab *Antisthene*, qui
 " patientiam et duritiam in *Socratico* sermone maxime ad-
 " amarat *Cynici* primum deinde *Stoici*: tum ab *Aristippo*,
 " quem illae magis voluptariae disputationes delectarent, *Cy-*
 " *renaica* philosophia manavit, quam ille et ejus posteri sim-
 " pliciter defenderunt: ii, qui nunc voluptate omnia metiun-
 " tur, dum verecundius id agunt, nec dignitati satisfaciunt,
 " quam non aspernantur, nec voluptatem tuentur, quam am-
 " plexari volunt. Fuerunt etiam illa genera philosophorum,
 " fere qui se omnes *Socraticos* esse dicebant; *Eretriacorum*,
 " *Herilliorum*, *Megaricorum*, *Pyrrhoneorum*: Sed ea horum
 " vi, et disputationibus sunt jamdiu fracta, et extincta."
 Tull. de Orat. lib. 3.

²¹ As *Xenophon* and *Plato* avoid mentioning one another in their numerous Compositions, it has been absurdly supposed that there was a Quarrel betwixt them on account of Rivalship: but such mean Sentiments are foreign to the Breasts of true Philosophers. 'Tis true, their respective Followers or Admirers did afterwards contend, which of their Masters had delivered the Doctrines of *Socrates* with the greatest Pu-
 rity

nians, and *Cebes the Theban*. The first and last of these three were at *Athens* when their great Master was put to Death; the second was at that very time General in that glorious Expedition and memorable Retreat of the Ten Thousand *Greeks* out of *Asia*, which he only was able ²² to describe, as well as to conduct.

As I have already so often referr'd to their Writings in the Course of this Work, it would be superfluous to add more upon that Subject.

rity and Simplicity. But as there is nothing in the Writings of either essentially repugnant to the other, which may not easily be reconciled upon a critical Review, I am of the same Opinion with *Aulus Gellius*, who gives the following beautiful Account how this Report came to be rais'd: “ Quæ igitur est (says he) opinionis istius ratio? Hæc profecto est, æquiparatio ipsa plerumque et paritas virtutum inter sese consimilium, etiam si contentionis studium et voluntas abest, speciem tamen æmulationis creat, nam quum ingenia quædam magna duorum pluriumve in ejusdem rei studio illustrium, aut pari sunt fama aut proxima: oritur apud diversos fautores eorum industriæ laudique æstimandæ contentio. Tum postea ex alieno certamine ad eos quoque ipsos contagium certationis adspirat. Cursusque eorum ad laudem virtutis calcem pergentium, quando compar vel ambiguis in æmulandi suspensiones non suo sed faventium studio delabitur. Proinde igitur et *Xenophon* et *Plato* *Socraticæ* æmulationis duo lumina certare æmularique inter sese existimati sunt: qui de iis apud alios, uter esset exsuperantior certabatur; et quia duæ eminentiæ, quum simul junctæ in arduum nituntur. Simulacrum quoddam contentiones æmulæ pariunt.” *Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 14. cap. 7.*

²² *Xenoph. exped. Cyr.*

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Subject. ²³ *Plato* founded the School in those Gardens which formerly belong'd to *Ecademus*, which from his Name was afterwards call'd the *Academy*, and was adorn'd at the public Expence with Porticos, Arches, Walks and Groves, for the Use and Pleasure of the Students. *Xenophon*, tho' he was long employed in public Affairs, and at last banish'd from his Country, yet he so thoroughly imbib'd the Principles of *Socrates*, that he became one of the greatest Lights of the Heathen World, and compos'd those inimitable Writings now deliver'd down to us, the most admir'd of which are, the Memoirs of his godlike Master, his own Expedition, his *Grecian* History, and that beautiful Lesson which he gives to all Chiefs under the pleasing Form of a probable Romance, adorn'd with all the Sweets of Language, which this *Attic* Bee, as he was call'd, had cull'd from every Flower of

M poetical

²³ To *Plato*, his Nephew *Speusippus* succeeded to govern the Academy; to *Speusippus*, *Xenocrates*; to *Xenocrates*, *Polemo*; to *Polemo*, *Crates*; to *Crates*, *Crantor*; to *Crantor*, *Arcefilas*, who was the first of the *New Academy* so call'd in Distinction to the *Platonic*. *Aristotle* was the most famous Disciple of *Plato*, tho' he deviated from his manner of teaching. He was the Founder of the *Peripatetic* Sect, and after his Disgrace at the Court of *Macedon*, open'd a public School at *Athens* call'd the *Lyceum*.

poetical Invention²⁴. *Cebes* return'd to *Thebes* to instruct his own Country, where he wrote the *Mythological Table* now extant, and several other Pieces which are lost²⁵.

The Writings of these three Philosophers ought only to be called *Chartæ Socraticæ*²⁶, which contain the true Doctrines of *Socrates*, and no others can be rely'd upon for an Account of the Life and Tenets of
of

²⁴ His Stile was so sweet and elegant, that *Tully* says, "*Xenophontis voce Musas quasi locutas ferunt.*" *Orat. Xenophon* died at *Corinth* very old. See his Life in *Diog. Laert.* *Lucian* says he liv'd upwards of ninety Years.

²⁵ *Diog. Laert.*

²⁶ The true *Grecian Academics* kept invariably close to the Writings of *Xenophon* and *Plato*. *Boethius* represents Philosophy disclaiming the Familiarity of all other Sects but the *Platonists*. "Nonne apud veteres (says *Philosophy* personaliz'd) "quoque ante nostri *Platonis* ætatem, magnum "sæpe certamen cum stultitiæ temeritate certavimus? eodem "superstite, præceptor ejus *Socrates* injustæ victoriam mortis "me adstante promeruit? cujus hæreditatem cum deinceps "Epicureum vulgus, ac Stoicum, cæterique pro sua quisque "parte raptum molirentur, meque reclamantem, renitentemque, velut in partem prædæ, traherent, vestem quam "meis manibus texueram, disciderunt, abreptisque ab ea "panniculis, totam me sibi cessisse credentes abiire. In "quibus, quoniam quædam nostri habitus vestigia videbantur meos esse familiares imprudentia rata, non nullos "eorum profanæ multitudinis errore pervertit."

An. Manl. T. S. *Boeth. de cons. Ph. lib. 1,*

These are the Compositions of which *Horace* says,
Scribendi recte sapere est principium et fons:
Rem tibi *Socraticæ* poterunt ostendere chartæ.

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of this incomparable Man; the Compositions of that Crowd who have incidentally treated of either in After-ages, being either made up of dull oral Traditions, or the improbable and inconsistent *Chimeras* of their own Imaginations,

F I N I S.

The Reader is desired to correct the following
most material Typographical E R R A T A.

TITLE Page, for *Doctrine* of the Academic Sect, read
Doctrines.

Page 82. note 3. line 6. for *confidera* read *confidera.*